SOCIETAL ENVIRONMENT, CURRICULUM FOR INTEGRATION AND MOROCCAN IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN SPAIN: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE SPANISH APPLICATION OF THE TWO-WAY PROCESS IN THE CIUTAT VELLA DISTRICT OF BARCELONA

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Cornell University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Vesselina G. Naidenova

May 2011

SOCIETAL ENVIRONMENT, CURRICULUM FOR INTEGRATION AND MOROCCAN IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN SPAIN: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE SPANISH APPLICATION OF THE TWO-WAY PROCESS IN THE CIUTAT VELLA DISTRICT OF BARCELONA

Vesselina G. Naidenova, Ph. D.

Cornell University 2011

Studies focusing on the formal education of immigrant children (e.g., Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Inglis & Manderson, 1991; Barrington, 1991; Kolev, 2004; Hawkins, 1991; Lindo , 2000) have shown that curriculum and school environment (i.e. student body composition, faculty, staff, etc.) have a significant impact on immigrant students' self-image, academic performance and subsequent life chances. Grounded in these empirical studies and rooted in theories of integration, immigrant education policies, *immigrant* and *involuntary minorities*, the present paper has the objective of exploring the extent to which the Spanish education system has responded to the recent influx of Moroccan immigrant children. More specifically, through the use of surveys distributed among students and teachers at schools in Barcelona, the paper examines the degree to which school environment and curriculum of Spanish primary and secondary schools have incorporated the notion of *integration* as a two-way process, i.e. affecting both newcomers and host societies. The study and its findings suggest that curriculum and school environment can have serious implications not only for the integration, but also for the social mobility of Moroccan immigrant children at Spanish schools. The ultimate goal of this study is to contribute to the existing scholarship on immigrant education and integration as well as to highlight ways in which the curriculum and school environment could provide effective

intercultural education and adequately prepare both native and immigrant students for life in a multiethnic, multicultural, multiconfessional society.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Vesselina Naidenova is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Education at Cornell University. She received her B.A. in Near Eastern Studies (Summa Cum Laude) and her B.A. in German Studies and Spanish (Summa Cum Laude) from the University of Arizona in 2004. In 2006, she received an M.A. in Near Eastern Studies from Cornell University.

I dedicate this thesis to the dear people I lost while working on it: my maternal grandparents, Filka and Ljubomir, and my very good friend Vladimir.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a pleasure to thank all those people who made this dissertation possible. I owe my deepest gratitude to all the 512 students and 67 teachers who agreed to participate in the study, as well as to the principals and other school staff who facilitated the distribution and collection of the surveys. I would like to thank all the people from Instituto Milá i Fontanals of Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and particularly Prof. Josep Martí, who hosted me as a visiting scholar during my 4-month stay in Barcelona and who helped me in a variety of ways with my dissertation research. I am very grateful to all the people at the Departament d'Educació of the Generalitat de Catalunya and the Consorci d'Educació de Barcelona who assisted me with the research, particularly Mr. Celestí Bertrán, Mr. Pere Mayans, and Ms. Mariona Barba i Albós. I would also like to thank all the scholars and researchers who provided me with valuable sources, including Dr. Jorge Pàmies Rovira from Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Prof. Joaquim Arnau from Universitat de Barcelona, and Prof. Teun A. van Dijk from Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the people at Cornell University who made the thesis possible. First of all, I would like to thank my dissertation committee members – Prof. N'Dri Assié-Lumumba, Prof. John Sipple, Prof. Christopher Anderson, and Prof. Maria Cook. I am heartily thankful to my committee head, Prof. Assie-Lumumba, for her supervision, encouragement and support throughout the years. I am also very grateful to Prof. John Sipple for all the help he has offered me, particularly with the data sets and data analysis. A very special thank you goes to the faculty and staff of the Department of Near Eastern Studies who have generously provided me with financial

assistance from 2004 until 2010. I am greatly thankful to Prof. Ross Brann, Prof. Kim Haines-Eitzen, Prof. David Powers, Prof. Shawkat Toorawa, and Chris Capalongo. Among the other people at Cornell University whom I would like to thank are: Rosemary Hulslander, Prof. Mark Constas, Dean J Ellen Gainor and Dean Sarah S Hale. I would also like to thank the Cornell Institute for European Studies, the International Students and Scholars Office, and the Department of Education for their financial support.

Most importantly, I would like to express my immense gratitude to the people who have encouraged me, supported me, loved me and believed in my throughout this challenging process, mainly my family and friends. I am most thankful to my parents, brother, grandparents and aunt for being always there for me, as well as to all my dear friends, particularly Dimitar and Savina. Last but not least, I would like to say a big "thank you" to Kevin for all his patience, intellectual and emotional support, unfailing love and care.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Lager Context of the Study

Certainly migration, as the physical movement by people from one space to another, is not a new phenomenon. Rather, it has been observed for centuries, even millennia, as a powerful force in shaping the history of humankind. Whether an integral part of Nomadic life style, a kind of pilgrimage, or a result of political persecution, economic hardship, or natural disaster,[1] migration, in its diverse forms, has profoundly affected the lives and destinies of people all over the world, from ancient times until now. However, despite its universality and persistence over time, migration has recently emerged as one of the most hotly debated issues worldwide. It has dominated political debates; it has preoccupied the minds of social scientists; it has featured prominently in the news; it has haunted the imagination of artists and writers; and, most of all, it has been the reality for millions of people.

The past century witnessed large-scale migrations of people between various areas, to a large extent the consequence of demographic growth and economic opportunities. These migrations, whether temporary or permanent,[2] have posed a multitude of challenges to receiving societies. In their attempts to adjust both the newcomers and themselves to a future mutually beneficial coexistence, host societies often go through a number of stages, as reflected in the histories of traditional immigration countries in

---

[1] Laarbi, pp. 17-18

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17

Europe, such as Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.[3] Despite their differences in terms of population characteristics and national interests, these West European countries responded in similar ways to the migratory flows in the aftermath of the Second World War. Although these responses changed over time, they remained considerably consistent across countries, which has made it possible to identify three main stages in the history of migration to post-World War II Europe.

The first phase, from 1945 to 1973, is dominated by a system of "invited workers," also known as *guestworkers* or *Gastarbeiter*. This system, virtually adopted in all countries of Northern Europe is based on the notion that immigration is a phenomenon quite transient in nature. The second phase, from 1973 to 1990, corresponds to the period following the closing of European borders, which occurred in 1973. During that period, the way in which the issue of immigration had been viewed and treated until then underwent significant changes. The end of these changes was marked by the adoption of measures to facilitate the integration of immigrants. That is, once the government of a country realizes that the immigrants within the country are not likely to return to their respective places of origin, it begins to seriously consider the necessity of incorporating the foreign residents into the host society. At that time, plans of integration, which differ remarkably from one country to another, start to emerge. The third and last phase, from 1990 until nowadays, commences when the countries of Southern Europe, traditionally countries of emigration, begin, in turn, to transform into countries of immigration. These transformations, as well as the general

[3] Australia, Canada and the United States, probably the "most" traditional among the traditional immigration countries, are excluded from the discussion since it is limited to the context of Europe.

characteristics of immigrants and the situation in the host countries, make the third phase drastically different from the previous ones.[4]

Thus, as a result of the decades-long immigration of people from all over the world, including various parts of Asia, the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa, and South America, Europe has turned into a conglomeration of cultures, ethnicities, and races. Although the societies of Northwestern Europe have been undergoing major demographic and social changes due to immigration for years, their Southwestern counterparts have only recently started to experience such changes. Undoubtedly, one of the new countries of immigration which face the biggest challenges related to immigration is Spain.

1.2. An Overview of the Study

1.2.1. Background of the Problem

Having been a country of emigration itself for a long period of time, Spain has emerged as a new country of immigration in the last quarter of the twentieth century, at the time when northern European countries started "closing their doors to third-world workers." Finding it increasingly harder to gain access to traditional immigration countries such as Belgium, France and Germany, immigrants, particularly those from the Maghreb states, made Southern Europe their new destination. Besides their familiarity with this traditional transit zone and their historical and cultural connections to the region, North African immigrants were also attracted by the open (at least, until fairly recently) nature of Southern European economies. Being heavily

[4] Mijares, pp. 34-35

dependent on tourism and trade, the countries of Southern Europe have long facilitated the entry of visitors coming from various parts of the world. Furthermore, the rapid modernization and economic progress of Southern Europe since the 1970s have undoubtedly constituted another major factor having an influence on the direction of more recent immigration flows.[5]

Thus, in the 1980s, which mark the beginning of the country's economic boom and its entry into the European Community, Spain started witnessing substantial immigration. From 1985 to 1989, the number of legal foreign residents increased by 65%, from 241,971 to 398,148. By 1992, the total number of immigrants, including both legal residents and illegal aliens, ranged somewhere between 570,000 and 835,000.[6] By 2001, more than 1,300,000 foreigners lived in Spain, which is an increase of 144% since 1996. The number of immigrants has continued to grow since then and, in the beginning of 2005, there were 3,730,610 foreigners registered as residing in Spain, which is approximately 8.5% of the country's total population.[7]

As a result of the unprecedented influx of immigrants, and particularly Moroccans, the number of students of Moroccan origin in the country's primary and secondary schools has increased drastically. Thus, in order to facilitate these students' successful integration into Spanish schools and Spanish society in general and, consequently, improve their chances for socioeconomic advancement, Spanish authorities have

---

[5] King, pp. 8-9

[6] Cornelius, pp. 331-332

[7] *The Education System in Spain*, p. 6

undertaken numerous education[8] reforms and initiatives at local, communal, national and supranational levels. Besides introducing the 2006 *Ley Orgánica de Educación, LOE* (Organic Act on Education), whose implementation is expected to be completed by the current academic year (2009-2010), a variety of programs were launched, such as the Government of Catalonia Language and Social Cohesion Plan, the Madrid Compensatory Education Regional Plan, and the *Education des langues et cultures d'origine* (ELCO) program.

1.2.2. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The main theoretical framework of this research is built upon theoretical and empirical studies of immigrant education and integration. More specifically, these studies are related to integration, immigrant and involuntary minorities, and immigrant education policies. The notion of *integration* used in this research project refers to the two-way process affecting equally newcomers and local populations. This concept has been elaborated by Gema Martín Muñoz, F. Javier García Castaño, Ana López Sala, and Rafael Crespo in their *Marroquies en España: estudio sobre su integración* (2003). The authors maintain that integration, unlike assimilation, involves internalizing host societies and immigrants' differences. Thus, both the receiving majority and the newly arrived minority should actively participate in the process.[9]

Another set of theories used in this study deals with immigrant education policies. These theories, which are closely related to the notion of *integration* discussed above,

---

[8] The terms *education*, *formal education* and *schooling* are used interchangeably throughout this paper.

[9] Martín Muñoz *et al*., pp. 21-22

are succinctly presented by Laura Mijares Molina in her book *Aprendiendo a Ser Marroquíes. Inmigración, Diversidad Lingüística y Escuela* (2006). The theories are based on the four models described in Francesc Carbonell i París' *Inmigración: diversidad cultural, desigualdad social y educación* (1995). These models represent four types of immigrant education policies: assimilationist, compensatory, multicultural, and intercultural education policies. The four sets of education policies reflect the varying degrees to which cultural and linguistic differences among students are taken into consideration. More generally, the immigrant education policies are reflections of host societies' integration policies, interests and goals.[10]

Another major theory constituting part of the study's theoretical framework is the theory related to *immigrant/voluntary* and *involuntary minorities* developed by John Ogbu. It is laid out in the book he edited together with Margaret Gibson *Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities* (1991). Ogbu differentiates between *immigrant/voluntary* and *involuntary* minorities mainly based on two forms of historical forces shaping the cultural models of the two types of minority groups, which are "initial terms of incorporation" into the host society and "subsequent discriminatory treatment." Regarding the initial terms of incorporation are concerned, Ogbu distinguishes between minorities that have been incorporated voluntarily (such as immigrants) and minorities that have been incorporated involuntarily (like some ethnic groups brought into their present societies through slavery or colonization). However, with regard to the way they are

[10] Mijares Molina, pp. 48-51

subsequently treated, Ogbu claims that both immigrant and involuntary minorities are subject to prejudice and discrimination.[11]

The theories outlined above, which form the foundation of the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study, are illustrated and supplemented by a number of major empirical works. Among these are Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut's *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation* (2001), Christine Inglis and Lenore Manderson's "Turkish Immigrants in Australia" (1991), John M. Barrington's "The New Zealand Experience: Maoris" (1991), Deyan Kolev's "Roma Folklore Classes in Bulgarian Schools: Preparing the Ground for the Desegregation of Romani Education" (2004), John N. Hawkins' "Educational Demands and Institutional Response: Dowa Education in Japan" (1983), Nobuo K. Shimahara's "Social Mobility and Education: Burakumin in Japan" (1991), and Flip Lindo's "Does Culture Explain? Understanding Differences in School Attainment between Iberian and Turkish Youth in the Netherlands" (2000).[12]

The empirical studies mentioned above show how the concept of integration as a two-way process, theories of voluntary and involuntary minorities, and immigrant education policies have been applied to the context of schooling, particularly to school environment and curriculum. These studies deal with various minorities, both voluntary and involuntary, in different parts of the world, including Cubans and Mexicans in the United States, Turks in Australia, Maoris in New Zealand, Burakumins in Japan, as well as Spanish, Portuguese and Turkish people in the Netherlands. The first of these studies was conducted by Portes and Rumbaut (2001)

[11] Ogbu, pp. 8-9
[12] The theoretical framework, including the empirical workd, will be fully articulated in Chapter 3.

and focuses on immigant minorities in the United States. It examines the divergent paths that different minorities follow as a consequence of the interplay of a number of factors. Among these factors, as the experiences of Cuban and Mexican students reveal, are curriculum and school environment, which have proved to be essential for the school success and subsequent socioeconomic advancement of children of immigrants.

The second empirical study, conducted by Inglis and Manderson (1991) and focusing on Turkish immigrant children in Australia, traces the changes in immigrant education policies that have been introdced by the country's government over the years. The transformations in education policies are a reflection of the changes that have been occurring in the ideology and political stance of the Australian government. The country's initial lack of response to the influx of Turkish immigrants, which is also reflected in the assimilationist education policies adopted at the time, gradually gives way to the growing awareness of the increasing ethnic and cultural diversity at Australian schools. Thus, as a result of the government's new goal of meeting the needs and improving the life chances of Turkish stidents, assimilationist policies are replaced by policies of multicultural education. These new policies aim at promoting respect for and appreciation of the cultural diversity existing in the country.[13]

The third empirical study, conducted by Barrington (1991), reveals the experience of the Maoris in New Zealand which significantly resembles that of Turkish immigrant children in Australia. The changes implemented at New Zealand schools, which involve mainly incorporating elements of Maori culture into school curriculum,

[13] Inglis and Manderson, pp. 98-99

have had a positive impact on Maori children's academic performance and self-image. The fourth empirical study is Kolev's work (2004) on the education of Roma children in Bulgaria. It reveals that the introduction of a Romani folklore course at certain schools has positively affected the Roma children's self-image as well as it has increased ethnic tolerance and fostered solidarity and friendship among students.[14]

The fifth and sixth empirical studies, carried out by Hawkins (1983) and Shimahara (1991) respectively, focus on the Burakumin community in Japan., which has traditionally occcupied the lowest rungs of the socioeconomic ladder and which has been persistently isolated and discriminated against.[15] However, as a result of Burakumin organizations' demands, substantial curricular reforms have been implemented with the objective of promoting a better image of the minority group and raising the awareness of social differences among the Japanese population.[16] As for the last empirical work used as part of the conceptual and theoretical framework of this paper, it is a study on Iberian and Turkish immigrant students in the Netherlands. Its main argument is that Spanish and Portuguese students perform better academically than Turkish students due to their higher degree of integration within the host society.

1.2.3. Objective of the Study

The main goal of this study is to find out the extent to which the notion of integration as a two-way process has been incorporated in the school environment and

---

[14] Kolev

[15] Hawkins, p. 204

[16] *Ibid*., p. 215

curriculum in Spanish schools. More specifically, the study aims at examining the degree to which the integration of Moroccan immigrant children as a two-directional process has been reflected in their curriculum and school environment (i.e., student body composition, faculty, staff, etc.). In order to achieve this objective, the study, as discussed above, employs theories related to integration, minorities, and immigrant education policies as well as earlier empirical works focusing on the education of both voluntary and involuntary minorities in different parts of the world.

These empirical studies reveal the ways in which some traditional countries of immigration and countries with significant ethnic minorities have dealt with issues related to the schooling and integration of their respective voluntary and involuntary minorities. Some of these countries have gone through several stages (e.g. Australia) in their attempt to integrate their immigrant children, i.e. from assimilationist to multicultural and intercultural immigrant education policies. Similarly, other countries with large ethnic and cultural minorities have incorporated elements of their minority groups' culture in the curriculum (e.g. New Zealand) and/or have created comparatively safe school environments by recruiting minority faculty and staff (e.g. the United States). Such changes in the school environment and curriculum have proved to have a positive effect not only on minority students' achievement, self-perception and subsequent life chances but also on majority students and teachers' awareness of and respect for cultural diversity. In addition, these changes have been largely viewed as effective measures in combating prejudice and discrimination (for example, in the case of the Burakumin in Japan).

Spain, a recent country of immigration, seems to have been following in the footsteps of these countries in its attempts to accommodate its immigrant children, as becomes evident in the following chapters. Over the last couple of decades, it has launched a number of initiatives and introduced a variety of programs targeting the successful schooling and integration of immigrant students. These initiatives and programs were designed with the goal of not only meeting the educational needs of immigrant children and integrating them into Spanish schools, but also with the aim of protecting them from discrimination, racism and xenophobia by raising the general awareness and appreciation of ethnic and cultural diversity. However, the majority of these recent programs and initiatives, such as the Madrid Compensatory Education Regional Plan and the ELCO program mentioned earlier (see 1.2.1), have been to a great extent unsuccessful and/or limited in scope, affecting only certain groups of students and/or certain regions of the country.[17]

The major reason for Spain's quite limited success with regard to its recent reforms and innovations in the field of immigrant education seems to be the way in which *integration* has been understood. Rather than viewed as a two-way process affecting both the host society and newcomers, *integration* appears to have been generally perceived as a one-directional process. Despite all the rhetoric found in Spain's recent legislative acts and documents related to education reform, the notion of integration as defined by Martín Muñoz *et al*. (see 1.2.2) does not seem to constitute such an integral part of the school environment and curriculum in Spanish schools as it does in some of the countries with large minorities. Thus, in order to find

[17] This is further elaborated on in Chapter 2.

out to what extent the concept of integration as a two-way process, particularly with regard to Moroccan students, has been incorporated in Spanish schools, a set of specific questions has been developed. Their goal is to answer the main research question by guiding the data-gathering process and the subsequent analysis of the findings.

The questions have the objective of collecting information about: the number of Moroccan children at Spanish schools; their distribution and concentration across different types of schools (e.g., primary vs. secondary, public vs. private); the extent to which teachers and staff (e.g., councilors, librarians, etc.) of Moroccan origin are represented at Spanish schools; the kinds of positions people of Moroccan origin at Spanish schools hold; the level of exposure of students in Spanish classrooms to Morocco and Morocco-related knowledge (e.g. history, geography, literature, music, art, etc.); the level of exposure of students in Spanish classrooms to Islam-related knowledge; the extent to which Arabic language courses are offered at Spanish schools; the extent to which students in Spain are familiar with Morocco and Islam. In addition, the questions have the goal of finding out what indications there are for existing stereotypical perceptions and/or negative attitudes among majority and other minority students and teachers towards Moroccan students, Moroccans in general, Muslims, and/or Islam.

With regard to the termimology used in the study, *school environment* refers to the institutional setting where social dynamics take place in carrying out the main goals of education. It includes all the people studying and working at a school, i.e. students, teachers, counselors, librarians, administrative, dining, cleaning, and maintenance

staff. *Curriculum* denotes the whole set of courses, including their content, offered at a certain educational institution, e.g. a school, college, or university. What is meant by *integration* here is a process that affects not only immigrant children but also the society that receives them, i.e. a two-way process that involves internalizing the differences on part of both newcomers and local people. *Moroccan immigrant children* refers to all children of Moroccan origin in Spain, regardless of their place of birth and/or the time of their arrival in the country. Some of the other words used throughout the thesis to designate the Moroccan population in Spain are: *foreign*, *immigrant*, *minority*, *voluntary minority*, and *newcomers*.

The terms *minority* and *immigrant minority* employed here have the same meaning as the ones defined by Margaret Gibson. *Minority*, as she puts it, is "a group occupying a subordinate position in a multiethnic society, suffering from the disabilities of prejudice and discrimination, and maintaining a separate group identity."[18] Even if individual members of the particular group improve their socioeconomic status and manage to move up along the social ladder, the group as a whole remains in a subordinate position as far as its power to mold the value system of the majority. As for *immigrant minority*, it refers not only to actual immigrants but also to those who are descendants of immigrants and who still maintain a separate identity, the one of a minority group. Like involuntary minorities, immigrant minorities are in a subordinate position and regularly face prejudice and discrimination. Unlike involuntary minorities, immigrant minorities are more often

[18] Gibson, pp. 358-359

culturally, linguistically and physically distinct from the dominant group. Moreover, they have voluntarily left their place of origin in search of better opportunities.[19]

As far as children of immigrants are concerned, they are generally regarded as members of the same socioeconomic group as their parents. Sometimes, even the third and later generations of immigrants are identified by their origins, regardless of how strong their ties with their ancestors' home country are. In the course of several generations, immigrant minorities can transform into involuntary minorities, which are also characterized as ethnic minorities.[20]

1.2.4. Methods

This study was conducted in the period from February 2 until June 1, 2009, in Barcelona. The main research method employed was the survey. Two different surveys were distributed among students and teachers at nine primary and secondary schools in Ciutat Vella: four public elementary, four public secondary, and one private school/centro concertado. The total numbers of students and teachers who participated in the survey are 512 and 67, respectively. The surveys consist of closed-ended, open-ended, and Likert scale questions. The justification of the choice of the schools, respondent sample and quantitative/qualitative methods will be clearly articulated in Chapter 4.

Descriptive statistics is the primary method used in the analysis of the quantitative parts of the surveys (e.g., numbers, percentages, means, standard deviations,

---

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Bauböck, p. 8

histograms, etc.). As for the analysis of the qualitative parts of the surveys, thematic analysis involving the development of codes has been employed. The data collected through the surveys have been complemented with materials gathered from the Department of Education of Catalonia and the Barcelona Consortium of Education, as well as with recent studies conducted by scholars in Spain.

1.2.5. Importance of the Study

The rationale behind this research project is mainly the lack of studies on the formal education and integration of Moroccan immigrant children in Spain. Existing scholarly works are generally quite limited in scope and depth, as well as they seem to rely mainly on secondary sources. The scarcity of data collected directly from students (both majority and minority) might be due to issues of convenience, time limitations, language barriers, and/or the tedious process of obtaining a permission to conduct a study. However, judging from the number of recent legislative acts and education policies and initiatives, the country is in need of studies that could help it better integrate and meet the educational demands of its minority children.

Thus, the importance of this research stems from its expected contribution not only to the still limited body of empirical studies on schooling and integration of Moroccans in Spain but also to the larger context of integration, education and socioeconomic advancement of minorities in their host societies. Although the thesis focuses primarily on the social environment and school curriculum, its goal is to lay the foundation for future research on formal education as a determinant of social mobility among Moroccan immigrants. The study reviews success stories from other

countries[21] that demonstrate the critical role that schooling plays in the integration of minority children (both voluntary and involuntary). These stories also highlight the important implications that school environment and curriculum have for their future life chances. By exploring the extent to which Spanish schools have adopted the notion of integration as a two-way process, the study suggests ways in which school environment and curriculum can be modified to facilitate the educational need and integration of Moroccan immigrant children.

1.3. The Structure of the Dissertation

This section provides a brief summary of the following chapters of the dissertation. Chapter 2 focuses on the various aspects of the context within which the problem is situated. It begins with a large section on Spain as a recent country of immigration, exploring its recent transformation from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. This section also contains a description of the various immigrant populations in Spain followed by a detailed discussion of Moroccans in Spain, including important episodes in the history of Moroccan-Spanish relations, and a detailed profile of the Moroccan community in Spain. As for the second major section of Chapter 2, it examines the changes that the Spanish society has undergone in light of recent immigration and the country's entry into the European Union in 1985.

After presenting the larger European/European Union context, including both traditional countries of immigration (e.g., France, Germany, and Great Britain) and new countries of immigration (e.g., Greece, Italy, and Portugal), the focus moves to

[21] For example, Portes and Rumbaut (2001), Inglis and Manderson (1991), and John M. Barrington (1991).

Spain's recent immigration policies and initiatives (e.g., *Ley de Extranjería (LOE)*, the regularization programs of 1991-1996, the *LO 4/2004*, *Law 8/2000*, *The Plan Greco*, the 2004 decree and the 2005 Regularization Program). These are followed by a discussion of education reforms and initiatives, which also includes a description of the education system in Spain and issues such as distribution of powers, financial support, curriculum, etc. with regard to formal education in the country. The chapter continues with a description of foreign/immigrant students in Spain and the various legislative acts and programs introduced with the goal of integrating these children. Chapter 2 ends with an overview of some serious challenges that the country has been facing, namely discrimination, racism, and xenophobia directed towards newcomers.

Chapter 3 presents an overview of the theoretical and empirical studies that constitute the basis of this study. The chapter opens with a section focusing on the concept of integration as a two-way process followed by a review of theories related to minorities and immigrant education policies, including John Ogbu's theory of *immigrant/voluntary* and *involuntary* minorities. The rest of the chapter presents a discussion of empirical studies focusing on various immigrant and ethnic communities around the world, such as Mexicans and Cubans in the United States, Turks in Australia, Maoris in New Zealand, etc.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the methods employed in the study and the research procedure. It begins with a discussion of the survey as a research method followed by a description of the process, the site, the population and sample, the two (student and teacher) surveys, the additional data and sources used. Then, the data analysis process is described in detail, particularly the thematic analysis and the code

development procedure. All the results (both quantitative and qualitative) and their analysis are laid out in Chapter 5. They deal with the numbers, distribution and concentration of Moroccan students, teachers and staff at Spanish schools; the extent to which students in Spanish classrooms study about Morocco and Islam; the extent to which Arabic language courses are offered at Spanish schools; students' familiarity with Morocco and Islam; and indications of certain perceptions and attitudes among students at Spanish schools towards Morocco, Moroccans, Muslims, and/or Islam.

The last chapter, Chapter 6, provides a summary of the findings followed by an analysis of these findings in the context of theories and empirical studies related to *voluntary* and *involuntary* minorities, immigrant education policies and integration. The chapter continues with a discussion of the implications of the findings for the integration and social mobility of Moroccan immigrant children in Spain. The last few sections include the conclusion, a brief elaboration of the study's contributions and limitations, and some suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2
HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

2.1. Spain as a Recent Country of Immigration

2.1.1. From a Country of Emigration to a Country of Immigration

Migratory movements have played an essential role in the economic development as well as in the evolution and present distribution of Spain's population. As a result of the interplay of economic and demographic factors, the direction and intensity of these movements has varied over the last two centuries. The three main destinations of the migratory flows were North America (between 1830 and 1900), Latin America (between 1850 and 1950) and the industrialized countries of Western Europe (from 1960 on). However, the processes of political democratization, industrialization, and economic revitalization in the 1970s-1980s produced a considerable shift in the migratory flows. As a result, the total number of Spanish emigrants decreased significantly. Between 1961 and 1985, the number of Spaniards leaving for non-European countries decreased from 36,495 to 5,056. Similarly, in the period of 1964-1985, the number of Spanish emigrants heading towards European countries decreased from 102,146 to 17,089.[22]

At the same time, Spain, like the United States and the majority of the EuropeThesan Union member states, has been affected by international migration flows. As the figures below show, the numbers of immigrants in certain areas of the

[22] Yanci, pp. 355-356

world grew drastically from 1960 to 2005. For example, the number of immigrants in the United States increased approximately four times, from 9,735,177 in 1960 to 38 354 709 in 2005. For the same period, the growth in the number of immigrants in Northern and Central Europe was quite similar. However, the increase that Southern Europe has experienced is significantly bigger, i.e. the number of immigrants in 2005 is more than eight times greater than that in 1960.[23]

Table 1. Estimated number of international migrants[24]

Year	Spain	United States	Northern Europe	Southern Europe	Central Europe
1960	237, 230	9, 735, 177	2, 267, 628	1, 303, 934	6, 995, 054
1965	291, 399	9, 675, 576	3, 305, 262	1, 487, 951	8, 533, 701
1970	373, 474	9, 711, 586	3, 929, 651	1, 730, 152	10, 107, 680
1975	299, 953	11, 748, 856	4, 305, 894	1, 901, 835	11, 309, 517
1980	240, 906	14, 252, 537	4, 726, 378	2, 178, 071	12, 672, 340
1985	405, 869	18, 222, 923	4, 970, 782	2, 789, 322	13, 638, 257
1990	765, 585	23, 251, 026	6, 854, 086	4, 022, 735	15, 928, 501
1995	1, 009, 021	28, 522, 111	7, 352, 505	5, 583, 558	19, 834, 227
2000	1, 628, 246	34, 802, 754	7, 999, 882	6, 486, 404	21, 207, 619
2005	4, 790, 074	38, 354, 709	8, 949, 516	10, 712, 904	22, 075, 278
Percent increase	2,019%	394%	395%	822%	316%

According to most recent estimates provided by the Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat,[25] as of

---

[23] Cebolla Boado and Ferrer, p. 11

[24] Cebolla Boado and Ferrer, p. 11. The source they have used for these data is: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision. < http://esa.un.org/migration/>

2010 the number of international migrants in Spain is 6 377 524,[26] which is approximately 7.69 times higher than that in 1990, i.e. 829 705.[27] For the same period of time, 1990-2010, the number of international migrants in the United States has increased only by 1.84. As for Western, Northern, and Southern Europe, the numbers of international migrants have grown, over the last two decades, by 1.44, 1.60, and 3.54, respectively.[28] As the numbers above show, the region that has experienced the biggest growth (percentage-wise) in the number of its immigrants in the last twenty years is Southern Europe. Undoubtedly, the country within Southern Europe where the percentage increase has been particularly drastic is Spain.

This is further confirmed by the changes in the percentage of the country's population represented by immigrants. While in 1960 immigrants constituted only 0.8% of Spain's total population, in 2000 they represented whole 4.0% of the country's population. Only five years later, in 2005, Spain's immigrants constituted 11.1% of the whole population. Similar percentage-wise increases have occurred in other parts of the world as well but not to this extent. Immigrants in Central Europe represented 5.2% of the total population in 1960 and 11.9% in 2005. Those in the United States constituted 5.2% of the population in 1960 and 12.9% in 2005. As for

---

[25] The estimated numbers are found at this site: <http://esa.un.org/migration/index.asp?panel=1>

[26] See < http://esa.un.org/migration/p2k0data.asp>

[27] There are slight discrepancies between the numbers provided by Cebolla Boado and Ferrer, p. 11 and the numbers currently found on the website <http://esa.un.org/migration/p2k0data.asp>. Thus, if we use Cebolla Boado and Ferrer's data, the number of international migrants in Spain in 2010 would be not 7.69 but 8.33 times bigger than that in 1990. However, this discrepancy is insignificant with regard to the claims made in this section.

[28] See <http://esa.un.org/migration/p2k0data.asp> Because of the slight discrepancies between the two data sets (see the footnote above) and because of the (assumed) recency of the data published on the website, the numbers used here for the period of 1990-2010 come from the website.

Northern Europe, the increase there is significant as well. Immigrants in Northern European countries represented 3.0% of the population in 1960 and 9.3% in 2005. Not surprisingly, the region with the largest percentage increase is Southern Europe where the immigrants were only 1.1% of the total population in 1960. By 2005, they already represented 7.2% of the region's population.[29] Nevertheless, it is still less impressive than the increase that has been observed in Spain alone.

According to data published by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs,[30] in 1990 Spain was not even among the twenty countries which received the largest number of immigrants. However, in 2005 it already occupied the tenth place, as shown in the table below (Table 2).[31]

[29] Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision. Cited by Cebolla Boado and Ferrer, p. 12.

[30] *Ibid*., p. 13

[31] *Ibid*., pp. 12-13

Table 2. The countries with the largest numbers of immigrants

Ranking	Country	1990 Number of migrants (millions)	% of total population	Country	2005 Number of migrants (millions)	% of total population
1	United States	23.3	15.0	United States	38.4	20.2
2	Russia	11.5	7.4	Russia	12.1	6.4
3	India	7.4	4.8	Germany	10.1	5.3
4	Ukraine	7.1	4.6	Ukraine	6.8	3.6
5	Pakistan	6.6	4.2	France	6.5	3.4
6	Germany	5.9	3.8	Saudi Arabia	6.4	3.3
7	France	5.9	3.8	Canada	6.1	3.2
8	Saudi Arabia	4.7	3.1	India	5.7	3.0
9	Canada	4.3	2.8	United Kingdom	5.4	2.8
10	Australia	4.0	2.6	Spain	4.8	2.5
11	Iran	3.8	2.5	Australia	4.1	2.2
12	United Kingdom	3.8	2.4	Pakistan	3.3	1.7
13	Kazakhstan	3.6	2.3	United Arab Emirates	3.2	1.7
14	Hong Kong	2.2	1.4	Hong Kong	3.0	1.6
15	Côte d'Ivoire	2.0	1.3	Israel	2.7	1.4
16	Uzbekistan	1.7	1.1	Italy	2.5	1.3
17	Argentina	1.6	1.1	Kazakhstan	2.5	1.3
18	Israel	1.6	1.1	Côte d'Ivoire	2.4	1.2
19	Kuwait	1.6	1.0	Jordan	2.2	1.2
20	Switzerland	1.4	0.9	Japan	2.0	1.1

In terms of absolute numbers of immigrants, the only countries that come before Spain in 2005 are the United States, Russia, Germany, Ukraine, France, Saudi Arabia, Canada, India, and the United Kingdom. Moreover, Spain comes before countries that have been for decades considered traditional immigration countries, such as Australia. It also comes well before countries with which it shares many socioeconomic characteristics, such as Italy. One of the main reasons for Spain to turn into one of the main immigration destinations at a global level has been the speed at which the process has been taking place. According to some estimates, during the period 2000-2005, the number of immigrants arriving in Spain daily was around 1,000. As a result of these immigrant flows, Madrid and Barcelona have taken up a prominent place in the list of world cities with biggest immigrant populations.[32]

2.1.1.1. The Case of Catalonia

Catalonia, one of Spain's autonomous communities, is located in the northeastern part of the Iberian Peninsula, bordering France and the Mediterranean. It has the legal status of an autonomous region since 1979. Catalonia's total population is over 6 million, around half of which is concentrated in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. The autonomous community is divided into four provinces: Barcelina, Girona, Lleida, and Tarragona. Catalonia, which is one of the two main industrial regions of the country (the other one is the Basque country), is a very dynamic area, economically and culturally. After the economic crisis of the 1970s, the industry of the region has

[32] *Ibid*., pp. 12-14

recovered but the tourism and service sectors have taken over as the most important branches of Catalonia's economy.[33]

As for the Catalan population, it is not very different from the populations of other European states at the same socioeconomic level. However, it has been characterized by a markedly low fertility rate, one of the lowest in the world. Another unique feature of Catalonia is its culture. Although the autonomous province is an integral part of Spain, Catalan society has its own language, history, and a strong sense of its identity. In fact, Catalonia's struggle over the course of history to maintain its specific identity has created tensions with the Spanish and the French. In addition to the political tensions, there has been a growing pressure from outside, expressed in the spread of international cultural influences which tend to weaken the power of non-hegemonic cultures, an example of which is the Catalan one.[34]

As far as immigration goes, flows of newcomers have increased significantly since the 1980s, which is to a large extent the result of Catalonia's economic recovery at the time. However, despite the growth in the absolute number of European immigrants, the percentage of people coming from Europe fell, particularly during the regularization processes carried out by the Spanish government in 1985-1986 and 1991-1992, which registered primarily non-European immigrants.[35] These immigrants came mainly from Latin American countries, Morocco, Equatorial Guinea and the Philippines, i.e. places with which Spain had had previous colonial relations and/or

---

[33] Pascual de Sans *et al*., pp. 104-105

[34] *Ibid*., pp. 105-106

[35] *Ibid*., p. 108

with which it had maintained linguistic and cultural times.[36] Thus, in the 1990s, about 80% of the legal African immigrants in Catalonia were from Morocco. The other main communities were the Gambian and the Senegalese ones.[37]

A comparison between the foreign labor force in Catalonia, on one hand, and Spain as a whole, on the other, demonstrates a considerably broader range of employment types in the autonomous community, with a high percentage of immigrants working in agriculture, construction, and industry. This suggests either that the structure of the Catalan economy is more developed and diversified than the national one, or that immigrants in Catalonia are integrated into a wider range of sectors within the labor market. However, when the immigrant workforce of Catalonia is compared to the one comprised of domestic workers in the region, it is revealed that, whereas foreign and local workers have a relatively equal participation in the service sector (both a little bit over 50%), immigrants are half as likely to be hired in industry, twice as likely to work in construction, and four times as likely to be employed in agriculture. Even with regard to the service sector, the seeming parity is misleading since the majority of immigrants are concentrated in those service sector branches which are low in status and unappealing to Spaniards. Among these branches are hotel and restaurant service, domestic service, retail and wholesale trade.[38]

---

[36] *Ibid*., p. 110

[37] *Ibid*., p. 113

[38] *Ibid*., p. 114

2.1.2. Immigrant Populations in Spain

On January 1, 2007, according to the National Institute of Statistics, there were 4,482,568 residents of foreign nationality in Spain. Of all 45,116,894 living in the country at that time, only 39,902,504 had been born there. Thus, the foreigners in the country represented 9.9% of the total population, which places Spain on the top of the list of immigration countries in the period of 2005-2007. The table below shows the distribution of the immigrant population in Spain by place of origin.[39]

Table 3. Immigrant populations in Spain

Place of origin		Total	Spanish nationality	Other nationality
Europe		41,965,725	40,045,990	1,919,735
	UE (27)	41,719,259	39,980,915	1,738,344
	Germany	221,435	70,865	150,570
	France	208,414	125,030	83,384
	Italy	69,345	5,253	64,092
	Portugal	111,187	22,185	89,002
	United Kingdom	321,067	22,444	298,623
	Romania	509,756	3,045	506,711
Africa		852,716	121,506	731,210
	Morocco	616,486	96,675	519,811
	Senegal	35,572	1,157	34,415
Central America		219,530	79,638	139,892
North America		75,394	32,631	42,763
South America		1,753,493	312,802	1,440,691
	Argentina	271,180	86,567	184,613
	Bolivia	199,176	4,026	195,150
	Colombia	288,753	30,399	258,354
	Ecuador	429,278	19,125	410,153
	Peru	135,703	32,116	103,587
Asia		243,714	38,042	205,672
	China	106,993	12,156	94,837
Oceania		6,322	3,717	2,605

[39] Cebolla Boado and Ferrer, pp. 19-20. The data (including the table) comes from the National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística), which uses as its source the Padrón Municipal Continuo.

2.1.3. Moroccans in Spain

2.1.3.1. Moroccan Emigration to Europe

Since the last quarter of the 20th century, Morocco has emerged as one of the leading emigration countries in the world and, nowadays, Moroccans constitute one of the largest immigrant communities in Western Europe. Although migration from Morocco to Europe, in particular to France, was discernible in early 20th century, it was not until the period of 1962-1972 that the rate of Moroccan emigration rose drastically. This phenomenon can be attributed mainly to the labor recruitment agreements which Morocco signed in the 1960s with several Western European countries, i.e. France, West Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands. As a result, from 1965 until 1972, the approximate number of Moroccans living in Europe increased tenfold, from about 30,000 to about 300,000. By 1975, their number was close to 400,000.[40]

As a consequence of the 1973 oil crisis and the ensuing decrease in demand of unskilled workforce, Western European countries started to pursue more restrictive immigration policies. However, fear of not being able to return to the receiving countries made many immigrants stay in Europe. This, paradoxically, created a situation quite different from the one envisioned by the designers of the recent immigration policies because, compared to return migration rates of other immigrant groups in Europe, those among Moroccans have been among the lowest. Moreover, the decision taken by the majority of Moroccan immigrants to make Europe their new home led to massive family reunification in the 1970s and 1980s and, consequently, to

[40] de Haas

a much larger immigrant population. Thus, from 1975 to 1992, the number of Moroccans residing in Belgium, France, Germany and the Netherlands grew from around 400,000 to over a million. By 1998, their number had risen to 1.6 million.[41]

2.1.3.2. Moroccan-Spanish Relations: A Historical Overview

Spain's history, unlike that of other Western European countries, has been intertwined with that of Islamic Morocco for about thirteen centuries.

2.1.3.2.1. Islamic Spain

Spain, unlike most Western European countries, has constituted - politically, socially and culturally – part of an Islamic empire and most of the country's territories were subjugated to Muslim rule for a period of three to almost eight centuries.[42] The conquest of the Iberian Peninsula by the Arabs and Islam followed soon after that of Morocco in the end of the 7th century. With the capture of Tangier in 708, the Arabs extended their control from Egypt to the east to the Atlantic Ocean to the west. After securing the eastern and southern Mediterranean coasts, the Arab conquerors, in their desire to surround their dominions by land and to win a victory over the Byzantine navy, turned towards the northwestern Mediterranean. In this way, the Islamization spread first among the Berbers of North Africa and, then, among the Christians of Spain. In 755, an independent state, Al-Andalus, with dominions on both sides of the Mediterranean was proclaimed. Almost simultaneously, the foundations of a new

[41] de Haas

[42] Bernal, Antonio-Miguel, p. 17

emirate in present-day Morocco were laid, which was consolidated with the establishment of Fez in 808. In 929, both territories – Andalusia and the Moroccan emirate were subjugated to the new Caliphate of Córdoba.[43]

Under Muslim rule, the Iberian Peninsula was transformed into the biggest cultural center of Europe at the time. The Arabic writings of the period contained not only translations of Greek classics but also included the latest scientific advancements in various fields, such as astronomy, mathematics, physics, arts, writing, architecture, music, and education. The translations of major scientific works to Latin facilitated their spread to the rest of Europe, which gave rise to an important intellectual ferment which was to grow and develop into what is now known as the Renaissance. In addition, Arabs introduced to Europe new fruits and vegetables, agricultural processes and technologies, as well as new systems of minting coins, which laid the basis of a monetary market economy.[44]

During the time of the Caliphate of Córdoba (929-1031), a great political and social equilibrium was achieved. In the 11th century, the Muslims of Spain intensified their relations with North Africa and particularly with the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties who were in power from 1040 until 1147 and from 1121 until 1269, respectively. In 1212, after the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa which was a turning point in the Reconquista, the road to Andalusia was open for the kings of Castilla. After the death of Fernando III in the middle of the 13th century, the only

[43] Actis *et al*., p. 25

[44] *Ibid*., pp. 25-26

Muslim territory in Spain was the kingdom of Granada,[45] which surrendered to the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile and León, in 1492.

2.1.3.2.2. Western Sahara

The control over Western Sahara, a primarily desert territory in Northwest Africa has been an issue of contention between Morocco and Spain. At the Berlin Conference in 1884, the European powers (including Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, the Ottoman Empire, etc.) gathered to discuss the fragmentation and colonialization of Africa. Since the Spanish already constituted a significant presence in Morocco, the territory of Western Sahara was given to them. In December the same year, the Spanish government declared its intention to invade and get hold of Africa's hinterlands but, because of resistance on part of the Saharawi people, the invasion was not quite successful. However, a French-Spanish agreement of 1912 delimited the frontiers of Western Sahara and the French helped the Spanish subdue the Saharawi resistance. Thus, by the end of 1934, Spain had obtained full control over Western Sahara.[46]

Morocco, on the other hand, has always cherished its sovereign rights over Western Sahara and has refused to transfer them in spite of the pressures exerted by the European powers or by agreements concluded between them without its participation. In fact, these same European powers did not respect Morocco's

---

[45] Losada Campos, p. 192

[46] *The Conflict in Western Sahara*

historical rights over Western Sahara, not even when they divided the region into spheres of influence.[47] It is not surprising, therefore, that natives continued to resist the Spanish control. Not only did they hold many demonstrations but there were also a good number of militant groups determined to achieve independence. In fact, the first official meeting for the Polisario Front (Frente Popular de Liberación de Saguía el Hamra y Río de Oro[48]), a Sahrawi rebel movement aiming to achieve the independence of Western Sahara, was held in May, 1973. The movement, which was formed with the goal of getting rid of the Spanish, strove for the liberation and unification of Saguía el Hamra, the northern part of Western Sahara, and Río de Oro, the southern part of the region.[49]

In 1974, both the United Nations (UN) and the Organization for African Unity (OAU) ordered that Spain allow a referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara. After a long struggle, Spain eventually agreed to hold a referendum with the assistance of the UN in the beginning of 1975. This did not happen, however, because King Hassan II of Morocco made a statement that a referendum which would not favor Morocco could not take place. The Moroccans maintained that, historically, the territory of Western Sahara belonged to them and that the opinion of the people did not matter. In fact, soon after the Spanish left the region in 1976, Morocco took

---

[47] Moha, p. 113

[48] This is translated in English as *Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguía el Hamra and Río de Oro*.

[49] *The Conflict in Western Sahara*

control over a large part of the disputed region, particulary over Saguía el Hamra and Río de Oro.[50] [51]

2.1.3.2.3. Spanish Protectorate of Morocco

The Spanish protectorate of Morocco was established by the Treaty of Fez in 1912, which caused a partition of the Moroccan kingdom. The country was devided into spheres of influence between France and Spain. The latter gained control over the region of Ifni, the area of Tarfaya, Moroccan Sahara, Río de Oro (Oued Eddahab) and a large part of the Rif region. The partition of the country was not received well by Moroccans. As a result, the Reguibat tribes revolted, and, from 1921, Abd el-Krim led the resistance movement in the Rif. In 1925, the combined French and Spanish forces defeated Abd el-Krim's army but the leader managed to escape and continue the fight in the mountains until 1926, when he was captured by the French.[52]

The Spanish Protectorate of Moroccan spanned more than four decades, during which major historical events, including the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the Second World War (1939-1945), took place. However, in 1955 the French decided that they could no longer sustain their positions in Algeria and a war in Morocco and, thus, were willing to negotiate. After the negotiations in France between Muhammad V and the French government in the end of the same year, the Moroccan king returned

---

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] According to the Madrid Agreement of November 1975, Morocco acquired two-thirds of Western Sahara (in the north) and Mauritania the remaining part of the territory. See *Regions and territories: Western Sahara*

[52] Moha, pp. 85-89

to his country and proclaimed its independence on March 2, 1956.[53] Certainly, the withdrawal of France and the declaration of independence of Morocco created a new situation for Spain. For General Francisco Franco, the time for a historic choice had come. His connections to Morocco were well known. It was in that country where he had fought as a young man. It was also in Morocco where he started the movement of 1936, in which Moroccan troops participated. Thus, Franco announced the end of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco and paid tribute to the exceptional personality of Muhammad V "who would know how to lead his people through progress".[54] [55]

On April 4 of 1956, Muhammad V was welcome by General Franco at the Madrid airport, Barajas. The two heads of state passed through Madrid in the middle of the crowd's applauses. After a few days of negotiations, the agreement about Morocco's independence was signed on April 7. Spain put an end to its protectorate. The Spanish-Moroccan declaration of April 7 reads: "The Spanish government recognizes the independence of Morocco. It reaffirms its wish to respect the territorial unity of the kingdom which the international treaties guarantee. It promises to take all the necessary measures to make it effective".[56] This treaty practically follows the text of the French-Moroccan Declaration of March 2 the same year. In this way, the two European powers clearly reaffirm their intention to respect the unity of Morocco.[57] [58]

---

[53] *Ibid*., p. 102

[54] The translation of Franco's words is mine.

[55] *Ibid*., p. 105

[56] The translation of the declaration text is mine.

[57] *Ibid*., pp. 105-106

Figure 1. Map of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco[59]

---

[58] A few territories were not returned to Morocco until later. For example, the country gained Tarfaya in 1958 and Spain returned Ifni to Morocco in 1969.

[59] Source: *Protectorado Español en Marruecos*. <http://www.marcjimenez.com/autores_lengua_alemana/Rolf_Dieter_Muller/La_muerte_caia_del_cielo/mapas_protectorado.htm>

2.1.3.2.4. Ceuta and Melilla: Spain's Two Autonomous Cities

Ceuta and Melilla, two autonomous cities of Spain located on the Mediterranean coast of North Africa, have presented another major source of contention between Morocco and Spain. The two enclaves exist in the imagination of both the Moroccans and Spanish like a unity, an inseparable entity, twin cities, not only geographically close to one another, but also historically and culturally similar. Although this is not strictly true, the two cities share certain characteristics which differenciate them from other Spanish cities.[60]

Ceuta and Melilla were occupied in the 15th century by, respectively, the Portuguese and the Spanish[61] but their transformation into cities can be traced back only to the last decades of the 19th century. Before that, they were just prisons inhabited by military garrisons and detainees spread over territories much smaller than those currently populated. Half of the present-day area of Ceuta and 90% of the present-day area of Melilla were not conquered by the Spanish until 1860. As a matter of fact, there was no military control in Melilla until 1893. Thus, for centuries, these areas were mainly prisons which were in permanent struggle with the local populations: the Jebala tribes (Ceuta) and the Rif tribes (Melilla).[62]

After the Spanish-Moroccan war (1859-1860), the Spanish government authorized, for the first time, the settlement of civilians. Since then, the prision areas of Ceuta and Melilla have not had a stable population. Their urban history began in 1863 and was

---

[60] Planet Contreras, p. 17

[61] Ceuta was a Portuguese domain until 1640, which coincides with the Portuguese independence from the Spanish crown. Melilla, on the other hand, was conquered in 1497. Actis *et al*., p. 39

[62] Actis *et al*., p. 39

based on the contribution of three main groups: Moroccan Jews (the first settled merchants), peninsular Spaniards (primarily from Al-Andalus), and Moroccan Muslims. The growth of the two enclaves as cities started after the establishment of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco in 1912.[63] However, when Spain recognized Morocco's independence in 1956, the two cities remained under its control.While Morocco has for years considered the Spanish presence in Ceuta and Melilla anachronistic and has claimed sovereignty over the the cities, Spain has maintained tht they were conquered centuries ago and are integral parts of the country.[64]

At present, the two enclaves are surrounded by fences with the intent of deterring illegal immigrants. Nevertheless, Ceuta and Melilla continue to serve as stepping stones to the Iberian Peninsula for many Africans.[65]

2.1.3.2.4. Immigration

For more than five centuries, Spain has played an active role in international migrations, including: the processes of ethnic and religious purification of the new nation-state which involved the expulsion of Jews and Muslims between the 15th and 17th centuries; the Spanish migration towards current and former overseas colonies; the migrations caused by the economic reconstruction of Europe after World War II and coinciding with the excess workforce in the Spanish countryside created by the agricultural and industrial modernization of the country; and, most recently, the large

---

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] See *Regions and territories: Ceuta, Melilla*

[65] *Ibid.*

immigrant flows to Spain within the context of South-North migrations that characterize the global economy of the 21st century.[66]

Although Spain has turned into a country of immigration over the last few decades and has followed to various degrees the examples of traditional countries of immigration, it has remained a unique case in the history of immigration. There are a number of reasons for this. First, the program of *Gastarbeiter* or "invited workers", a common system in Europe and the first one that European countries used to recruit Moroccan labor force, was never fully adopted in Spain. Thus, this has led to an uncontrolled selection of potential immigrants and has indirectly encouraged illegal immigration. Second, the implementation of immigration policies in Spain has more to do with the country's entry into the European Union and the European unity than with the country's present and future immigrants. Third, the proximity between Spain and North Africa, as well as the special status of Ceuta and Melilla, has facilitated emigration from Morocco to Spain and the rest of Europe.[67]

Fourth, the permeability of borders, which have been difficult to control because of their length and location, has made illegal immigration something common. The illegal immigrants are primarily Moroccans but there are also sub-Saharan Africans who use Morocco as a transit point. Thus, Moroccan immigrant communities in Spain are characterized by a higher level of illegality compared to other immigrant groups in the country. Fifth, the transformation of Spain from a country of emigration to a country of immigration at a time when Europe was embracing the idea of "Fortress

---

[66] Pereda *et al*., p. 13

[67] Ramírez, pp. 194-196

Europe" has sped up the process. As a result, Spain has had to go through the phases that traditional countries of immigration have already gone through in a much shorter period of time.[68]

2.1.3.3. A Profile of Spain's Moroccan Community

The Arab world, next to Europe and Latin America, represents one of the main areas of interest for the Spanish government. The Maghrib, which constitutes an integral part of the Arab world, occupies a particularly important place in the foreign affairs of the country, as becomes evident from the active role that Spain has played in the region.[69] In addition, over the past few decades, the attention of political groups, mass media and public opinion has been drawn by the growing number of Moroccans leaving their home country for Spain.[70] In fact, Spain has recently replaced France as the primary destination for new Moroccan immigrants. The numbers of Moroccans legally living in Spain (i.e. having residence permits) have been increasing steadily for the last couple of decades. In 1993, their total number was 65,847; in 1995 – 74,886; and in 1997 – 111,000. By 2000, their number had risen to almost 200,000 and, by 2003, it was more than 280,000. As of March 31, 2005, their total number is 396,668. These numbers show that, in the period from 1993 to 2005, the Moroccan population in the country has grown by more than 320,000, or approximately by 600%.[71]

---

[68] *Ibid*., p. 196

[69] Núñez Villaverde and Hernando de Larramendi, p. 11

[70] Martín Corrales, p. 227

[71] Aparicio Gómez *et al.*, pp. 34-36

Moroccans, compared to other immigrant groups, such as Chinese, Ecuatorians, Romanians, and Senegalese, have been in Spain for longer periods of time. It is even possible to talk about an emerging second generation of Moroccan immigrants.[72] In the beginning, i.e. in the 1970s and the early 1980s, they would arrive without knowing anybody in Spain but positive that they were to be received by the local population. However, things have changed dramatically since then. Nowadays, the Moroccans who arrive in Spain already have either families, or friends, or friends of friends there. Even if they do not, they arrive certain that they will be able to find somebody from their place of origin.[73]

2.1.3.3.1. Settlement Patterns

The areas with the highest concentration of (legal) Moroccan immigrants, as of 2005, are: Barcelona (83,225), Madrid (52,080), Murcia (37,472), Gerona (23,999), Almería (21,027), Tarragona (18,569), the Balearic Islands (14,457), and Alicante (13,359).[74] In fact, about 63% of the Moroccan immigrants are concentrated in seven provinces: Barcelona, Madrid, Gerona, Murcia, Almería, Tarragona and Málaga. Barcelona alone has more than one fifth of the Moroccan population. The remaining 37% are distributed among the other provinces.[75]

---

[72] See also Aparicio Gómez and Tornos Cubillo, p. 7

[73] Aparicio and Tornos, p. 126

[74] Aparicio Gómez *et al.*, pp. 34-36

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 54

Among the seven provinces with the highest concentration of Moroccans, four are urban areas (Barcelona, Madrid, Gerona and Málaga) and three are rural (Murcia, Almería and Tarragona).[76] The different character of these regions (i.e. urban vs. rural) accounts for the differences discernible in the immigration patterns within the country over the years. Whereas the growth of immigrant communities in urban settings is a comparatively stable process, in rural areas relatively abrupt fluctuations can be observed at times. The explanation for these variations lies in the nature of the jobs available in the various regions. In rural areas, the majority of jobs offered are seasonal and, once the work is done, the immigrants have to move in search of another source of income. As for urban centers, they provide immigrants with a much wider range of occupational opportunities.[77]

2.1.3.3.2. Place of Origin

Morocco is a country with a long history of emigration. The period from 1960 to 1974 witnessed a remarkable increase in Moroccan emigration towards the European continent. During that time, the emigrants were almost exclusively men in search of jobs. From 1975 on, however, the number of family reunifications grew and, as a result, the composition of the next migratory flows from North Africa to Europe. Towards the end of the 1970s, necessitated by the economic crisis and European immigration policies, the import of labor force was largely put on hold. However, between the 1980s and 1990s, new destinations began to emerge, such as the countries

---

[76] *Ibid*., p. 55

[77] *Ibid*., pp. 40-41

of Southern Europe, and Moroccan emigration resumed at full speed, and this time not only from traditional regions like Sus and western Rif.[78]

With regard to their place of origin, about 51% of the Moroccan immigrants in Spain come from six provinces: Al Hoceima (11%), Larache (10%), Oujda (9%), Casablanca (8%), Tétouan (7%) and Nador (6%). The remaining 49% come from the other 24 Moroccan provinces. The patterns of distribution of Moroccan immigrants within the country suggest that immigrants coming from certain Moroccan provinces tend to be concentrated in specific areas of Spain. Most probably, this concentration of certain immigrants in certain regions can be explained by earlier established community networks. Thus, for example, the majority of those coming from Al Hoceima have settled down in Madrid. The overwhelming majority of those from Figuig are to be found in Huelva. Almost half of those from Tangier head to Barcelona. As for those from Larache, Nador and Tétouan, most of them are to be found in Catalonia's four provinces, i.e. Barcelona, Girona, Lleida, and Tarragona. The ones coming from Casablanca and Oujda seem to be more evenly spread among Barcelona, Gerona, Huelva, Madrid, and Málaga.[79]

---

[78] Jiménez Álvarez, p. 116

[79] Aparicio Gómez *et al.,* pp. 78-81

Figure 2. Map of Morocco: Immigrants' places of origin[80]

2.1.3.3.3. Gender Distribution

As for the gender distribution among Moroccan immigrants, it seems to have been quite stable over the years with approximately 67% of the immigrants being male. However, over the last few years, the female component of the Moroccan population has slightly grown. Since it is still premature to attribute this increase to changing

[80] Source: *Administrative Map of Morocco*. <http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/morocco-administrative-map.htm>

immigration trends, it could be explained by recent births and family reunifications.[81] As far as the age distribution is concerned, according to 2005 data provided by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, in Spain there were 91,503 Moroccans under the age of 16; 299,949 between the ages of 16 and 64; and 5,216 at the age of 65 and above. Based on these numbers, the majority of Moroccan immigrants, i.e. 76%, fall under the category of economically active people. However, since schooling in Spain is compulsory until the age of 16, approximately one fifth of the Moroccan residents are still in school.[82]

2.1.3.3.4. Marital Status

Because of lack or inaccessibility of official data on the marital status and educational attainment of Moroccans in Spain, a comparatively small-scale survey (427 people participating) has been conducted. According to the results of the survey, about 50% of the people are single, about 50% are married, and about 5% are divorced. Mainly for religious reasons, free unions are practically non-existent. With regard to the marital status distribution by gender, two interesting observations have been made. First, the majority of men are single whereas the majority of women are married. This has been attributed to the socio-cultural specificities of the Moroccan community in which, particularly in rural areas, women get married relatively early and are put under their husbands' guardianship. Second, the percentage of divorces is higher among women than among men. The idiosyncrasies of Moroccan culture have

[81] *Ibid*., pp. 58-60

[82] *Ibid*., pp. 60-62

once again accounted for this phenomenon, i.e. a divorce, which is still largely unwelcome in the Muslim world, can be the major factor influencing a woman's decision to leave her home country with the goal of distancing herself from her surroundings.[83]

2.1.3.3.5. Educational Attainment

As far as the educational attainment of Moroccan immigrants in Spain is concerned, the results from the survey show that one fourth of this population does not have any education. About 34% of the people participating in the survey have completed elementary education and about 25% have completed secondary education. About 15% have studied at a university level. These results are consistent with the findings of other similar studies carried out by the *Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones*. With regard to the correlation between educational attainment and age, the survey has revealed that, generally, educational attainment decreases with the increase of age. Thus, the highest percentage of university-educated people is found in the 25-35 age group followed by the 36-45 age group. This distribution of educational attainment cannot be compared to that of the native Spanish population because of the significant differences in the age distribution within the two populations, i.e. only around 11% of all legal Moroccan immigrants in the country are above the age of 44. However, the average level of educational attainment is considerably lower for

[83] *Ibid*., pp. 64-67

Moroccans than it is for the Spanish majority, particularly with regard to the high rates of illiteracy among the Moroccan population.[84]

2.1.3.3.6. Employment

As for the integration of Moroccan immigrants into the Spanish labor market, statistical data from various sources show that, since the early 1990s there has been a steady increase of the numbers of Moroccan workers in the country. The only two inflection points observed, between 1995 and 1996 and between 1999 and 2000, coincide with the two legal acts concerning regularization, i.e. the 1996 regulation and the LO 4/2000. However, while the numbers of Moroccan workers have been growing, the ratio between Moroccan workers and the Moroccan population in Spain as a whole has declined from 70% to 50%. This decrease is typical for more settled immigrant communities, in which not everybody constitutes part of the labor force. In addition, the socio-cultural characteristics of Moroccan communities, in which men are the traditional breadwinners, provide another factor contributing to this decrease.[85]

Two interesting observations have been made with regard to the differences in employment between, on one hand, Moroccan men and Moroccan women and, on the other, Moroccan women and other immigrant women. Although the increase in the numbers of Moroccan male workers and Moroccan female workers between 1999 and 2003 is percentage-wise similar, the increase in absolute numbers is quite different. While in 1999, there were 64,570 male workers and 12,241 female workers, in 2003

---

[84] *Ibid*., pp. 72-77
[85] *Ibid*., pp. 81-84

there were 133,018 male workers and 25,309 female workers. During the same period of time, the number of all foreign female workers in Spain grew from 106,363 to 335,610. Also, comparing the increase in the number of Moroccan male workers to the increase in the number of all foreign male workers in Spain for the same period or time, it becomes evident that the increase in the first group is uniform while the increase in the second group is exponential. This trend provides further evidence that the Moroccan immigrant community is more stable than other immigrant communities in the country.[86]

Moroccan immigrants in Spain, like other immigrant groups in Southern Europe, have been employed primarily in certain domains of the country's labor market. Their jobs are usually low-paid and marginal, at times precarious and often leading to exploitation and social exclusion. Many of these immigrants work in the fields of agriculture and construction; they are increasingly involved in the industrial sector; they are often employed in the sphere of tourism and catering; some of them are street-hawkers and some of them provide domestic service. In agriculture, work is generally arduous and carried out during the hottest months of the year. Moreover, immigrants employed in this sector are often destined to lead an itinerant and insecure life with quite limited contacts with the majority population. As for construction work, it is also physically demanding and insecure with wages being often below the legal minimum, at times only half or a third of what a Spaniard would receive.[87]

---

[86] *Ibid*., pp. 85-86

[87] King, pp. 15-16

Unlike jobs in agriculture and construction, jobs in the industrial sector can be provided on a more stable basis in the case of a shortage of indigenous labor. Also, wages in industry usually do not fall under the legal minimum as well as this kind of work creates certain pre-conditions for a more successful social integration. However, as studies and reports have shown, this hardly ever happens. The situation for immigrants employed either in tourism and catering (as waiters, porters, cleaners, kitchen staff, etc.), in domestic service (cleaning, cooking, child care, care for elderly people, etc.), or in other services (as plumbers, security guards, painters, petrol-pump attendants, crew members on ships, etc.) has not been very different. Nor have street-hawkers had better opportunities of becoming integrated in Spanish society. Although their job involves a certain level of interaction with the majority population, it has been at times viewed as a form of begging and, as a result, street-hawkers have been subject to marginalization and social exclusion.[88]

The employment distribution of immigrants across the various sectors of the Spanish economy reveals a significant level of "ethnostratification," i.e. certain immigrant communities are overrepresented in particular kinds of jobs. The majority of immigrants, including Moroccans, are represented in the area of construction and in the hotel and catering business. However, the distribution patterns of Moroccan immigrants differ from those of other immigrant groups. For example, while a relatively small percentage of the other immigrants are employed in agriculture (85,854 out of 815,067 as of March 2005), a large percentage of the Moroccan population works in this sector, i.e. 55,808 out of 135,351 (as of March 2005). As

[88] *Ibid*., pp. 16-18

domestic service and self-employment, these two are represented mainly by other immigrant communities, such as Latin Americans (domestic service) and Chinese and Sub-Saharan Africans (self-employment).[89]

2.1.3.3.7. Main Reasons for Migration

As previously mentioned, the majority of Moroccans' main reasons for emigration/immigration have been economic. More specifically, among the ones most frequently cited, in a descending order, are the following: to improve one's standard of living, earn a bigger salary, to assist financially one's family in Morocco, to reunite with one's family, to find a job (being unemployed in Morocco), to work in a field (more closely) related to one's studies, to provide better future for one's children, to get to know another country, etc. As shown earlier, men's main reasons for emigration usually differ from women's. Thus, while the majority of men mention economic reasons, most women cite family reunification and leaving their environment as the main reasons for their migration. However, as studies have demonstrated, women often do not answer questions related to their reasons for migration, which cannot be attributed to differences in the level of education since these are basically insignificant.[90]

---

[89] Gómez *et al.*, pp. 87-89
[90] *Ibid*., pp. 103-105

2.2. Changes in the Spanish Society in Light of Recent Immigration and the Country's Entry into the European Union

2.2.1. The Larger European/European Union Context

International migration, particularly migration from non-EU countries to Western European countries, has posed a tremendous challenge for the latter ones. Although, in light of the ever growing influence of the European Union (EU), member states have had to shape their immigration policies according to general guidelines and principles, significant differences are still persisting.[91] These are illustrated by the immigration policies implemented by three of the most prominent EU member states, which have also been considered among the traditional countries of immigration, i.e. France, Germany and the United Kingdom. Despite their overall coherence with regard to controlling incoming migrant flows and dealing with immigrants already present in the respective country, the immigration policies of France, Germany and the UK exemplify three distinct modes of tackling the problem of immigration. The French way of managing immigrants has been defined as "ethnocentric assimilationism"; the German one has been categorized as the "institutionalization of precariousness"; and, the British mode has been characterized as "uneven pluralism."[92]

---

[91] Melotti, p. 73

[92] *Ibid*., p. 75

2.2.1.1. Traditional Countries of Immigration

2.2.1.1.1. The French "Ethnocentric Assimilationism"

France's ethnocentric assimilationism can be traced back to the 19th century when the country started resorting to immigration as a way of coping with labor shortages and "a chronic demographic crisis." As a matter of fact, since 1820, which marks the beginning of the country's industrialization, the demand for labor has never been completely met by the internal supply and the demographic crisis, with its highs and lows, has persisted until now.[93] As Umberto Melotti points out, French society has attempted to integrate immigrants "in the only way conceivable in a country that pictures itself as a great homogeneous nation and is deeply identified with a strong centralized state." As a state that does not recognize national minorities and ethnic groups, France has encouraged and called for immigrants' assimilation into its own culture. Consequently, instead of "using their ethnic and cultural identities as strategic resources," immigrants have to give them up in order to become linguistically and culturally assimilated into their host society which, in return, grants them the same rights as those of native citizens.[94]

Since the French state has favored ethnocentric assimilationism, it has tried, for as long as possible, to attract immigrants from other Latin and Roman Catholic countries. In the 19th century, it drew its immigrants from Belgium. From the early 20th century to the 1970s, its immigrants came mainly from Italy, Spain, and Portugal. However, as these countries started to exhaust their labor supplied, Frances began recruiting

---

[93] *Ibid.*
[94] *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76

workers from geographically and culturally more distant regions such as the Maghreb countries, West Africa, and Southeast Asia.[95] The greater ethnic differences and cultural distinctiveness between native citizens and immigrants from these areas as well as the immigrants' large numbers and organization in family groups and communities (which facilitate and promote the preservation of ethnic and cultural identities) have posed considerable challenges to the French assimilationist policies. With the increasing importance of values such as respect for human rights and appreciation of ethnic, cultural and religious differences, these policies have, which started progressively to lose legitimacy, have been the center of political debates for decades.[96]

In the context of a constantly growing Arab and Muslim population, which is generally perceived as the hardest one to assimilate, racist and xenophobic sentiments and responses have been intensifying. These reactions have been accompanied by demands for a radical reform of the citizenship code with the goal of reestablishing the "law of blood." Initially proposed by the extreme right (mainly, the Front National), this reform was also supported by France's former president, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who was highly regarded for his liberal ideas by the political majority in 1993. This reform met strong opposition from the French left which, remaining loyal to the assimilationist policy, defined it as "ill-fated not only for the immigrants, but for French citizens too." Although more recent political debates have focused on

---

[95] *Ibid.*

[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77

immigrants' integration, it has been argued that the term "integration" has been frequently used as nothing more than a euphemism for "assimilation," which "continues to reduce new settlers to France into raw materials, without history or culture, ready to enter the great assimilating machine of French society."[97]

However, new immigrants have increasingly resisted assimilation as well as "the old socializing agencies" (e.g., schools, work places, trade unions, and political parties) have been undergoing a crisis. Furthermore, schools, which are supposed to play an essential role in promoting diversity, have been failing to do so. On the contrary, they have repeatedly taken severe measures against Muslim girls and young women wearing headscarves in public schools. Thus, due to the inadequacies of the traditional model, there have been pressures on part of the immigrant Muslim population, left-oriented political entities, NGOs, etc. for the introduction of a new multicultural approach to social life in general and education in particular. In particular, second-generation immigrants have severely criticized the system which, despite acknowledging minority communities, continues to subordinate their members. However, in spite of these pressures and recent debates, the old policy continues to dominate French society.[98]

2.2.1.1.2. The German "Institutionalization of Precariousness"

Germany has one of the highest, if not the highest,[99] absolute number of immigrants in Europe. Although it became a country of immigration as far back as the

---

[97] *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 78

end of 19th century, Germany has had the tendency to deny its established status as an immigrant country. As a matter of fact, immigrants have always been considered temporary workers ("guest workers").[100] These guest workers were expected to stay for only a few years and were not supposed to settle permanently and/or bring in their families. However, after the recruitment period (1955-1973) was over, the foreign laborers began to settle and form ethnic communities.[101] In fact, when in 1973 Germany closed its borders to labor immigration, a large proportion of the foreign workers who were already present in the country and whose families soon joined them generated what is known in demography as a "population issued from migration."[102]

However, denial to recognize this drastic demographic change on part of the German government became a major obstacle to "working out a clear project for that population." The ensuing immigration policy encouraged neither integration nor segregation and, as a result, German immigrants basically remain "foreigners." While their economic contribution to the host country was appreciated, their permanent settlement was largely discouraged. Although they have been allowed to live in the country for extended periods of time spanning even several generations, this permission has not been accompanied by any promise or guarantee for any changes in their status. By making the acquisition of citizenship by immigrants extremely difficult, the German government has expected labor workers, their families and

---

[99] As of 1997, Germany was the European country with the highest absolute numbers of immigrants. Melotti, p. 80

[100] Melotti, pp. 80-81

[101] Castles, p. 853

[102] Melotti, p. 81

descendants to be ready to leave the country at any time. Thus, to this end, social policies have not been targeted at assimilating immigrants. Rather, in anticipation of their return to their home countries, these policies have been aimed at preserving and maintaining their cultures and languages.[103]

However, Germany, like most northwestern European countries, needs immigrants for both demographic and economic reasons. Not only is the country's population shrinking at an unprecedented rate but the decrease in population will also lead to a decrease in the labor force and, consequently, to a decline in economic growth. This will be further aggravated by the fact that the majority of other EU member states will also have need for an increasingly large workforce. Thus, Germany has been pressured to finally acknowledge that immigration is unavoidable and that it is a typical characteristic of modern societies. As a result, a new law was adopted in the beginning of 2005, which was expected to reflect the shift from "police law" to a modern and liberal law that meets both immigrants' demands and the country's needs for a qualified labor force.[104] However, contrary to expectations, it seems that this law, instead of representing a break from the past, it has preserved much of the old wording.[105] As a matter of fact, this new piece of legislation reflected a considerable "downward slide from the liberal, open-minded and forward-thinking" initial proposals.[106]

---

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 81

[104] Schmid-Drüner, pp. 191-193

[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 211

2.2.1.1.3. The British "Uneven Pluralism"

British immigration policies, which are based on principles such as autonomy, decentralization and particularism, differ considerably from their French and German counterparts. Social regulation in the United Kingdom is much more dependent on local government and administration than in France, where, in spite of recent attempts at decentralization, "almost everything goes through the central organs of the state or its peripheral extensions." Although both British and French immigration policies reflect a high degree of ethnocentrism, it is expressed in very different ways. Whereas this ethnocentrism assumes a universalist form in France claiming that all immigrants, irrespective of their culture and race, should become "good Frenchmen," in Britain it manifests itself in a particularist form meaning that, although all immigrants are expected to obey the law and be loyal citizens, they are not supposed to "ever become good Englishmen, Scotsmen or Welshmen."[107]

However, despite the different forms ethnocentrism takes in the two countries, both British and French immigration policies can be regarded, at least to a degree, as extensions of old colonial policies. While in the French case, they were marked by a differentialist approach and indirect rule, in the British case these policies were characterized by an assimilationist approach and direct rule. In fact, Britain generally let colonized people keep their traditions and their political and social organizations, as long as they acknowledged the superior authority of the Kingdom's representatives (i.e., the viceroy or the British governor). Until the Commonwealth Immigration Control Act of 1962, natives of former Britain's colonies on Africa, Asia, and the

---

[107] Melotti, pp. 78-79

West Indies could freely enter the country as "British citizens." Thus, in comparison to France, where any association between immigrants was virtually forbidden until 1981, racially, ethnically and culturally diverse immigrant groups in the UK created their own communities.[108]

2.2.1.2. Comparison between Spain and Other European Countries

The immigration policies and practices of Spain, which introduced its first comprehensive immigration law in the mid-1980s, differ substantially from those of other EU countries, particularly from those with longer histories of immigration. This can be explained mainly through the different stages of evolution that immigration has reached in the different EU member states. Of course, some of these variations can be also attributed to the political, economic, social and cultural idiosyncrasies of the EU member states. As for the similarities, they are primarily the result of the EU pressure for uniformity and unification. However, despite this pressure and due to the sensitivity of the issue and the controversy surrounding it, cross-country variations have persisted.

2.2.1.2.1. Spain and Traditional Countries of Immigration

Spain, which has relatively recently become a country of immigration, is not, as Gaia Danese points out, easily comparable to northwestern European countries, which have not only much longer histories of immigration but also quite different political systems, levels of economic development, and social institutions. Thus, whereas

---

[108] *Ibid.*, p. 79

immigration into countries such as Belgium, Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands can be defined as post-colonial or "guestworker" and, therefore, less heterogeneous, immigration to Spain and other southwestern countries (i.e., Greece, Italy and Portugal) has been marked by greater ethnic, racial and cultural diversity. Furthermore, unlike northwestern European countries prior to the 1970s, new European countries of immigration are also characterized by high internal mobility rates and well-developed informal economies. In addition, a second generation has just started to emerge in Spain and other recent countries of immigration in Southern Europe.[109]

However, despite the significant contextual differences between Spain and northwestern European countries, their immigration policies have considerably converged under the pressure for unification and in light of the common problems EU countries have faced. Among these challenges are: the persistence of regular and irregular migration, the need for workers in certain sectors of the economy, the ageing European population, and the numerous tragic incidents involving the loss of many illegal immigrants' lives.[110]

Spain, similarly to some northwestern European countries (e.g., Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK) experiences labor shortages in certain sectors. In an attempt to solve this problem, Spain has introduced a labor quota system in addition to regularization programs. Other EU member states have also undertaken initiatives in order to counteract labor shortages. Germany, for example, introduced the Green Card

[109] Danese, p. 716

[110] Apap, p. 309

regulation in 2000, which is composed of ordinances. According to this regulation, which is designed after the US green card, foreign experts who have been granted work authorization are given a residence permit. It is valid for a maximum of five years and it applies also to immigrants' spouses and minor children. As a result, over a period of one year (2000-2001), 8,556 foreign IT experts arrived in Germany and became green card holders.[111]

Similar initiatives have been undertaken in other EU countries as well. The UK, for instance, introduced a new program in 2002. It is called the *Highly Skilled Migrant Programme* (HSMP) and it involves granting a new category of permits to people meeting certain criteria, without the need for there to be an employer. The HSMP, which has been developed alongside the traditional UK work permit, differs from the latter mainly in that it is driven by the individual rather than by the employer. The Netherlands, which has also acknowledged labor shortages in certain types of jobs (particularly, in the IT/Telecom field), introduced a new law, *Vreemdelingenwet* (Aliens law), which came into force in 2001.[112] As for Sweden, although the country puts restrictions on the length of stay and does not provide benefits to attract workers, it seems to have also made attempts to attract highly skilled immigrants by increasing short-term work permits. In fact, it has provided tax incentives for immigrant employees and has eased administrative burdens for employers of immigrants.[113]

---

[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 317-319

[112] *Ibid.*, pp. 319-320

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 324

However, despite the recognized problem of labor shortages both in Spain and other EU countries and the common EU goals with regard to immigration, it seems that there are significant differences in terms of immigration policies and practices. While the country seems to be filling job vacancies primarily in the low-paid sectors of economy and, thus, recruiting mainly unskilled and semi-skilled workers from "third world" countries (i.e., North African, Sub-Saharan African and South American countries), EU countries with longer histories of immigration have recently been developing policies to attract almost exclusively highly-skilled workers. As a matter of fact, these new policies of the northwestern European countries have been accompanied by tightening of requirements for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. However, it has to be pointed out that, in general, those countries that have colonial ties with their immigrants are more tolerant than other countries,[114] which can have a substantial impact on their immigration policies.

It is likely that these discrepancies between Spain and its EU counterparts can be attributed to the relative lack of experience of the former in dealing with immigrants. It is possible that the country is naturally following in the footsteps of EU member states like Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, the UK and others, which initially recruited large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers and did not start drastically changing their admission policies until at least several decades had passed since they opened their borders for the first time. In addition, despite the substantial level of convergence of immigration laws and regulations within the Europe, a single

---

[114] Solé, p. 1212

EU immigration policy has not been developed yet. This is largely due to the fact that member states reluctantly cooperate on the EU level and unwillingly share their powers with the supranational European institutions. They seem to agree primarily on restrictive measures.[115] As a matter of fact, most, if not all, EU countries have insisted on preserving their sovereignty with regard to issues related to the admission and residence of non-EU immigrants to their territory.[116]

2.2.1.2.2. Spain and Other Southern European Countries

Like Spain, the other countries of southwestern Europe (i.e., Greece, Italy and Portugal) have also recently become countries of immigration. Thus, in many aspects, they face the same or similar problems with regard to immigration control and integration policies. In fact, it has been argued that, in each of these four southern European countries, "control prevails over integration." Furthermore, studies of newcomers' characteristics across the new immigration countries have revealed some common features of these populations. For example, recent immigrants to Southern Europe are generally young men and, if married, they tend to leave their wives and children in their home countries. Most of female immigrants, on the other hand, migrate for family reasons. As for those women who migrate on their own, they tend to have a level of education that is higher than the one required for the kind of job they have in their host country. In addition, immigrants in Southern European countries are often employed in sectors of the economy unappealing to native workers. Many of

[115] Niessen, p. 419

[116] *Ibid.*, p. 421

them accept such jobs because, mainly due to their limited language skills and insufficient education, they have no other alternatives.[117]

Similarly to other European countries, especially those discussed above, laws, legislative actions and various initiatives targeting immigrant flows differ significantly from one southwestern European country to another. The main reason for this is that these countries, like their northern counterparts, are members of the European Union, which still lacks a common legislation addressing entry, control and integration of immigrants. Thus, each country has its own laws and regulations based on its respective history, economic development, political landscape, geographical location, and cultural idiosyncrasies. It seems that the only aspects of immigration policies where more consensus has been reached among southern European countries in particular and among EU countries in general are control policies and immigrants' expulsions.[118] In addition, some of the differences are the result of the countries' historical development. As mentioned above, countries which have colonial ties with their immigrants' country/countries of origin (e.g., Portugal) are more tolerant than others (e.g., Spain).[119]

Generally speaking, in Southern European countries immigration policies regulate the entry of foreigners into the country in a restrictive manner. They are related to control of entry, stay and work-related activities rather than long-term residence and socio-cultural integration. This, to a great extent, resembles the situation in many

---

[117] Solé, pp. 1209-1210

[118] *Ibid.*, p. 1209

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 1212

northwestern European countries during the early stages of their dealing with immigration. For these new countries of immigration, control rather than integration is the major concern. Control is achieved mainly by setting quotas and frequently conducting regularization programs. This is, above all, the case for Italy and Spain.[120]

2.2.1.3. Conclusion

Despite the numerous discussions of coordinating immigration policies at the EU level, most European laws regarding immigration continue to be localized within the individual member states. Although the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam emphasized the importance of EU cooperation in handling the growing immigration problem and the 1999 European Council of Tampere put forth a common refugee and asylum policy, none of the proposals for common immigration laws had been ratified by the time of the European Council summit in Seville in the summer of 2002.[121] Thus, control of immigration, both legal and illegal, has proved to be one of the most "intractable issues" facing the EU with regard to harmonizing member states' national policies. The reasons for this lie in the significant differences between the countries' economic structures and histories of immigration, the economic roles of their immigrants and the policies regarding the various sources of immigration flows. Some of the specific differences in national policies that have impeded the harmonization process concern family reunification, settlement, integration and naturalization policies.[122]

---

[120] *Ibid.*, p. 1214

[121] Calavita, pp. 4-5

As the history of Spanish immigration policy reveals, there have been numerous difficulties, challenges, controversies, shifts, and changes of course related to immigration issues and the ways in which they have been tackled. In less than two decades, i.e. 1985-2001, there were three major pieces of legislation supplemented by a good number of additional policies. In addition, during the same period of time, there were six legalization programs.[123] These immigration laws and policies have been approved and applied in controversial contexts, often causing strong disagreement among the principal political parties and non-governmental organizations, as well as social protests in support of immigrants' rights. In fact, Spanish legislation, as Rocha argues, has focused on restricting and, even, stopping illegal immigration by toughening the requirements for obtaining legal residence in the country and by tightening border control rather than on developing effective policies regarding the integration of immigrants.[124]Although the importance of immigrants' integration has been continuously emphasized by various programs and legislative changes, immigrants, Calavita claims, "remain a class of pariahs, vulnerable to the kinds of attacks described here,[125] and vulnerable too to the everyday experiences of exclusion that derive from and signify their marginality."[126]

---

[122] Huntoon, pp. 424-429

[123] Calavita, pp. 37-38

[124] Rocha, p. 416

[125] Calavita refers to the 2000 El Ejido incident.

[126] Calavita, p. 2

2.2.2. Immigration Policies and Initiatives

In light of the massive influx of foreigners and the important issues raised related to this phenomenon, immigration became a major item on the Spanish government's agenda.[127] In 1985, the country passed its first comprehensive immigration law, which was subsequently amended and revised.[128] Prior to 1985, Spain did not have explicit immigration policy or legislation related to the treatment of alien residents. As a result, this kind of "legislative void created a benign legal limbo for immigrants" who would continue living their lives and carrying out daily work without being worried about their illegal status. In fact, a study of pre-1985 Moroccan immigrants has found that these people, compared to groups that arrived later, were better integrated into Spanish society; a higher percentage of them were self-employed and a greater number of them had their families with them.[129]

2.2.2.1. The Ley de Extranjeria (LOE)

The situation changed drastically with Spain's entry into the European Community (EC). Only a few days after the country joined the EC in June 1985, it passed the *Ley de Extranjeria, LOE* (Law on the Rights and Liberties of Foreigners in Spain). According to its Preamble, the law had the dual goal of guaranteeing the rights of foreign residents and regulating illegal immigration.[130] The *LOE*, which constituted

---

[127] Ortega Pérez

[128] Calavita, p. 5

[129] *Ibid*., p. 27

[130] *Ibid*., pp. 27-28

the first major regularization process in the country, addressed migration mainly as a phenomenon of temporary nature and focused on control over immigrants already residing in the country.[131] The law also made clear-cut distinctions between different types of foreigners. Thus, EC members were granted the rights of free movement, residence and work in Spain whereas those coming from outside the EC were required, for the first time, to have visas. In addition, those who intended to stay and work in the country for a period longer than 90 days were required to obtain residence and work permits.[132]

While the *LOE* granted legal residents certain rights of public education and assembly, the law stipulated that these rights are guaranteed as long as they are in agreement with the "national interest, security, public order, health, morality, or the rights and liberties of Spaniards."[133] As for those who did not have permits, the majority of whom were not EC members, they were overtly excluded from any of these rights. The *LOE* also laid down the grounds for deportation among which are: the lack of valid permits, involvement in activities that are "contrary to the public order or internal security," felony conviction, and lack of sufficient funds.[134] Thus, by granting work visas and residency permits only in the case of an existing job offer and

---

[131] Ortega Pérez

[132] Calavita, p. 28

[133] Articles 7-10, in *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, No. 158, July 3, 1985: 20825 cited in Calavita, p. 28

[134] Article 26, in *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, No. 158, July 3, 1985: 20825 cited in Calavita, p. 28

by further complicating the process of renewing the required permits, the *LOE* limited immigrants' access to the labor market.[135]

2.2.2.2. Regularization Programs (1991-1996)

Being deemed weak with regard to human rights, the *LOE* was followed by a number of amendments, revisions, and regulatory changes with irregular frequency.[136] For instance, one of many such legalization plans was the 1991 regularization program. It concerned illegal immigrants who either had previously had work permits, had ongoing job contracts, or were self-employed in a "legitimate enterprise." Another regulatory action of the same year enforced visa requirements on foreigners coming from the Maghreb countries (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia), from Peru and the Dominican Republic, who had been exempt from these requirements under the 1985 law. There were two main reasons for the extension of visa requirements to people from the above-mentioned countries. First, there were a number of reports showing that these countries were the sources of a large portion of Spain's illegal immigrants. Second, the pressure from the EC had grown stronger after Spain signed the Schengen Agreement in June 1991.[137]

Following the 1991 regularization program, which initially legalized at least around 110,000 foreign workers, in November 1993, the Interior Ministry established regulations for the reunification of families headed by settled immigrants from non-

---

[135] Pérez

[136] Calavita, p. 5

[137] *Ibid*., pp. 28-29

European Community countries. The two main requirements for this were that the settled immigrant must have a job which can support him and his family and that he must be able to provide his family with housing that meets minimum habitability standards.[138] In light of increasingly tightening restrictions on immigration coupled with labor shortages, the Spanish government launched a foreign worker program. Thus, annual quotas for foreign workers were established in three sectors affected by the labor shortages: agriculture (10,000 workers), construction (1,100), and various services (8,500). In spite of the varying numbers from one year to another, this program has been integrated in the country's immigration policy.[139]

A major step towards acknowledging the permanent character of the newly arrived immigrant population was the 1996 regulation. It was aimed at amending the *LOE*, which had been deemed weak with regard to human rights. The 1996 regulation recognized recent immigration as a "structural phenomenon" and emphasized certain rights of the immigrants such as access to education, legal counsel, and equality as well as the right to have an interpreter when dealing with Spanish authorities. It also granted regional governments more power to protect the rights of immigrant minors, set up a permanent resident category and officially incorporated family reunification into its framework.[140] This regulation, as well as any other law or program from that period, i.e. 1985–late 1990s, illustrates the dual goal of the comparatively recent

---

[138] Cornelius, pp. 335-336

[139] Calavita, p. 29

[140] Ortega Pérez

immigration policies in the country: the establishment of an effective control over illegal immigration and the incorporation of legal immigrants into Spanish society.[141]

2.2.2.3. The LO 4/2000

In the beginning of 2000, a new law, *Ley Orgánica sobre Derechos y Libertades de los Extranjeros en España y su Integración Social* (Organic Law on the Rights and Liberties of Foreigners in Spain, and Their Social Integration), known also as *LO 4/2000*, was passed. This law once again emphasized the integration of immigrants as well as several of its provisions were aimed at enhancing immigrants' rights and granting them more access to social services.[142] In addition, the *LO 4/2000* included a new legalization program which was targeted at immigrants who had been in the country continuously since 1999 and had had a residence or work permit at a certain time in the preceding three years. Those undocumented immigrants who had been living in Spain for at least two years, were registered as residents, and could demonstrate that they had sufficient means of support, were granted five-year legal status. After this period of five years, they were eligible to apply for permanent legal residence. Furthermore, the *LO 4/2000*, which was quite broad in scope, extended the right to education to all immigrant, regardless of their legal status. It also granted all immigrants social security protection as well as access to the public health care system and housing services.[143]

---

[141] Calavita, p. 29

[142] *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, No. 10, January 12, 2000: 1139-1150 cited in Calavita, p. 30

2.2.2.4. Challenges to LO 4/2000 and Law 8/2000

However, during the same parliamentary session in which the *LO 4/2000* was passed, the conservative Popular Party led by Prime Minister José María Aznar declared its intention to repeal it. Thus, after he won the national elections only a month later, Aznar and his party put a halt to the implementation of the law. A few months later they proposed a bill to reform *LO 4/2000* which was enacted by the end of the year. Referred to by some as the "Counter-Reformation," the new law (*Law 8/2000*) mirrored the administration's anti-immigrant stance. According to its Preamble, this law was formulated with the intention to bring the country into compliance with the 1999 EU agreement at Tampere and the Schengen Agreement which, according to the Popular Party, had been violated by *LO 4/2000*.[144]

In line with the new administration's stance, *Law 8/2000* denied illegal immigrants the rights of assembly, joining labor unions, striking, and collective bargaining. At the same time, it granted the police the right to detain undocumented immigrants for up to forty days and deport them within seventy-two hours. With the exception of health care, compulsory public education, and legal assistance for certain proceedings, illegal immigrants were denied most rights to social service. As a result of the enactment of *Law 8/2000*, legal immigrants were also considerably affected. Not only were family unification rights restricted to immediate family members, but also access to legal aid and to public aid for housing was discontinued for legal immigrants.[145]

---

[143] Calavita, p. 30

[144] *Ibid*., p. 33

[145] *Ibid*., pp. 33-34

Soon after the new law aiming at cutting back on immigrants' rights was passed, the administration launched several legalization programs. Most probably, the Spanish government undertook this initiative either to compensate for the extremely unfavorable consequences of *Law 8/2000* for the illegal immigrants in the country or because it felt pressured by the mass protests over the plight of undocumented immigrants under the new regime. While this initiative does reveal some recognition of the necessity to integrate immigrants already present in Spain, the overall effect of *Law 8/2000*, Kitty Calavita claims, has been "to curtail the rights of both illegal and legal immigrants and increasingly to spell immigration as a police function."[146]

2.2.2.5. The Plan Greco

The *Law 8/2000* was widely criticized not only by opposition parties but also by the Catholic church, by a large number of NGOs, and even by the business sector. Soon after its enactment, the Ministry of the Interior issued its comprehensive plan "Global Program for the Regulation and Coordination of Foreign Residents and Immigration in Spain," known as the Plan Greco, declaring that integration of immigrants is an essential part of any immigration policy.[147] This plan emphasized the right of immigrants (legal) to have the same fundamental human rights that are claimed by Spaniards. It specifically mentioned their access to social services as well as the importance of tolerance, respect for diversity, and combating racism and xenophobia. When, for fiscal year 2002, the Aznar administration budgeted more than

---

[146] *Ibid*., p. 34

[147] *Ibid*., pp. 36-37

$1.3 billion for immigration-related purposes, $252 million was allocated to implementation of the Plan Greco.[148] Not all of this money was dedicated to integration; about $79 million was designated for development projects in sending countries and $36 was earmarked for surveillance and border-patrol technology.[149]

The Plan Greco, a multidimensional initiative started in 2001, had the objective of addressing four key issues: an international collaborative design of immigration as a positive process for Spain as a member of the EU; integration of foreigners as contributors to the economic growth of the country; admission regulations to guarantee peaceful coexistence within society; and, management of the shelter plan for refugees. Based on the specifics of the Spanish state's organization and its decentralization, the Plan recognizes the crucial role that local and regional governments play in the process of integrating immigrants. Namely, it is the implementation of policies at the local level that have the biggest impact on integration.[150]

2.2.2.6. The 2004 Decree and the 2005 Regularization Program

In May 2005, Spain launched a new regularization program, which is part of a larger initiative aimed at combating illegal immigration and employment. This step taken by the government was necessitated by the significant number of unauthorized

---

[148] The remaining money was designated for health care ($900 million), education ($192 million), reception centers and shelters ($16 million), contracts to local regions ($7 million), and subsidies to NGOs (about $6 million). Calavita, p. 94

[149] Calavita, p. 94

[150] Ortega Pérez

immigrants in the country, i.e. approximately 1.2 million (as of December 2004). Among the most cited factors contributing to the permanency of immigrant flows have been: the high demand for low- and unskilled foreign labor, the considerably large informal economy of Spain, the inefficient administrative bureaucracy for the management of immigration, the well-developed immigrant networks, and the geographic and cultural proximity to sending countries. While the country's previous regularization programs granted some immigrants legal status, they could not adequately manage the continuously increasing immigration flows.[151]

As a result, in December 2004, the Spanish government adopted a decree with the objective of modifying the immigration legal framework. This decree, which aimed at meeting the demand for foreign labor by widening legal channels and restricting illegal employment, stipulated that another regularization program should be launched. The new regularization policy has been largely regarded "as much as an economic policy tool as one of immigration policy." Besides reducing the number of illegal immigrants in the country, the regularization program has the goal of encouraging a considerable portion of Spain's underground economy to enter the formal labor market, thus, among other things, reducing the exploitation of foreign workers. The program applies to illegal immigrants who have been residing in the country for over six months and who have no criminal record in both Spain and their home country. Eligibility also depends on a future work contract for at least six months (or three, for agricultural work).[152]

---

[151] Arango

In addition, this program does not apply to foreign children, spouses, students, those who are self-employed or who have only a residence permit. Thus, of the estimated 1.2 million illegal immigrants in December 2004, approximately 800,000 were expected to be eligible. Applications for this program could be submitted during the period between February 7 and May 7, 2005. Once the work contract is validated by the Social Security administration, eligible applicants are granted a one-year residence and work permit which is renewable. However, during the application process and for three months after that, any other immigrant-related procedures and applications are suspended, including those for permanent residency. In addition, a new national employment catalogue organized by provinces has been put together which lists all the jobs that, in general, natives do not want, such as cooks, domestic workers, truck drivers, and waiters/waitresses.[153]

As part of the new regularization program, the existing quota system was to be modified so that a limited number of three-month visas will be granted to immigrants providing them with the opportunity to seek employment in sectors favoring personal contact. Furthermore, temporary family reunification permits were to be given to immigrants after one year rather than after 18 to 24 months. At the same time, approximately 500,000 inspections were to take place between May 7, which marked the end of the application period, and December 31, 2005. The maximum fine per worker was to be 60,000 euros. Another enforcement mechanism that was employed

---

[152] *Ibid.*

[153] *Ibid.*

was an interministerial database which detects frauds through cross-checking of application information.[154]

2.2.3. Education Reforms and Initiatives

Before elaborating on the recent reforms and initiatives introduced by Spanish authorities with the goal of facilitating immigrant children's integration into Spanish schools, I will provide a brief overview of the education system of Spain.[155]

2.2.3.1. The Education System of Spain

The education system in Spain comprises several main stages: primary, secondary (compulsory and post-compulsory), and higher education. Primary education, which consists of six years for children between the ages of 6 and 12, and compulsory secondary education, which consists of four years for children between the ages of 12 and 16, constitute basic education, which is free for all students. Post-compulsory secondary education, *Bachillerato*, lasts for two years, i.e. for students between the ages of 16 and 18.[156] In Spain, compulsory education is regarded as a public service and, as such, it is to be provided by the state. Thus, state-funded educational institutions, i.e. public schools and *centros concertados*, offer free compulsory education.[157] There is also a small number of private institutions that usually belong to

---

[154] *Ibid.*

[155] The focus is mainly on elementary and secondary education since higher education is beyond the scope of the present paper.

[156] *The Education System in Spain*, pp. 22-24

business groups or private corporations linked to the new private universities and certain groups in the Catholic Church.[158]

The *centros concertados*, which derive their name from a special contract (*concierto*) they conclude with the educational administration to provide free compulsory education to families who ask for it, admit students between the ages of 3 and 16.[159] These schools, like any other public school, are governed by equity and anti-discrimination principles. They are primarily financed by the autonomous communities and partially by the city councils. State-funded schools, including *centros concertados*, represent almost two-thirds, i.e. 63%, of the total number of compulsory education schools. They alone constitute approximately 30% of the total number of compulsory education schools. The majority of them (88%) are the property of the Catholic Church and the rest are the property of individuals or associations but hardly ever of corporations.[160]

Compared to other regions in the country, the percentage of *centros concertados* is considerably higher, i.e. around 50%, in some autonomous communities like the Basque Country, Catalonia and Madrid. At the same time, the percentage is much smaller in other communities like Extremadura and Andalusia. However, in recent years, the demand for *centros concertados* has been increasingly growing and, at times, it is more than twice their supply. Simultaneously, the demand for public schools has been decreasing. Among the suggested reasons for this tendency, one is

---

[157] *Ibid.*, p. 26

[158] Jacott, p. 100

[159] *Ibid.*, p. 97

[160] *Ibid.*, p. 99-100

particularly compelling, i.e. the fact that only one in five immigrant students is registered at these educational institutions. This means that about 80% of all immigrants students are in public schools. Moreover, the *centros concertados* have been claimed to have a variety of ways to "exclude students who do not conform with the mainstream profile in terms of qualifications, performance or behavior."[161]

Recent education reforms in Spain do not leave higher education unaffected either. The country's university education is organized in three cycles, with each cycle having specific educational goals. The first one leads to the *Diplomado* qualification, the second one to the *Licenciado* degree, and the third one to the Doctorate degree. However, in accordance with 2005 legislative provisions following the Bologna Declaration for the year 2010, a new structure of the Spanish university education is to be implemented. Thus, the first cycle will correspond to the bachelor's degree, the second to the master's, and the third to the doctorate degree.[162] As part of adapting the country's higher education system to the European Higher Education Area, compatibility and comparability have been promoted as essential for facilitating student mobility across universities, both within Spain and within the EU.[163]

2.2.3.2. Distribution of Powers

The decentralized model of the Spanish education administration allocates powers among the state, the autonomous communities, local authorities and educational

---

[161] *Ibid.*, p. 100

[162] *The Education System in Spain.*, p. 168

[163] *Ibid.*, p. 173

institutions. The powers of the state, which are entrusted to the Ministry of Education and Science include, among others: ensuring the homogeneity and unity of the education system, guaranteeing equality for all Spaniards with regard to their fundamental educational rights, establishing common standards, setting up requirements for educational institutions, outlining nationwide plans for education, regulating academic diplomas and certificates.[164] At the next level, besides being responsible for the administration of the education system in their respective territories, the autonomous communities are in charge of implementing basic state standards. They create, authorize and control public and private schools, administer the personnel, supervise curricular materials, allocate scholarships and grants. The state and the autonomous communities can also confer certain powers to municipal authorities, which are generally responsible for enforcing compulsory education.[165]

Since society's participation is very important to the Spanish education system, mixed-membership bodies are found at the different levels of authority (i.e., national, regional, local), in which various social groups are represented. Among them are students, teachers, parents, administrative and service personnel, university representatives, owners of private educational institutions, members of labor unions and employers' organizations, representatives of local and national organizations, prominent individuals in the field of education, etc. Besides the State School Council (at a national level), there are also regional, provincial and local school councils, in which all sectors involved in education participate. In addition, the individual

---

[164] *Ibid*, pp. 26-27

[165] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32

educational institutions also have school councils, through which the educational community gets involved in the school's affairs. With regard to higher education, the main national body is the University Coordination Council.[166]

2.2.3.3. Financial Support

With regard to financial support for students, as already mentioned, the Spanish education system has the goal of compensating for inequalities and guaranteeing an equal right to education for all students. Thus, the state offers financial assistance to students in compulsory education. Annually, many children in compulsory secondary education receive financial support in the form of meals, transport, and textbooks. In addition, aiming at facilitating access and continued attendance at non-compulsory levels, the education system provides grants and financial aid for those who need it. There are two types of programs for grants and financial assistance: general grants and financial support, which require a certain level of academic performance and demonstrated financial need, and special grants and financial support, which are awarded solely on the basis of academic performance.[167]

2.2.3.4. Curriculum

As for the curriculum, at the primary and secondary level, the Spanish government designs the core curricula for the whole country which are subsequently modified by the autonomous communities. Then, in turn, the individual educational institutions

---

[166] *Ibid.*, pp. 39-44

[167] *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117

adapt them to their respective socioeconomic and cultural context. Also, each school can prioritize certain cross-cultural topics to promote values relevant to its specific circumstances, experiences and needs. Aiming at making the common core curricula more flexible with regard to meeting individual student needs, the 2006 *Loe* stipulates a re-organization of the present curricula. As a result, the updated curricula should incorporate the requirements to be met in order for curricular diversification from the third year of compulsory secondary education to be considered. In such a case, with the goal of reaching the educational objectives set for the respective educational level, a specific methodology is applied in the organization of the contents and practical activities.[168]

2.2.3.5. Bilingual Education

With regard to the linguistic situation in the country, bilingual education has undergone an unprecedented development over the last couple of decades. Those autonomous communities that have a language of their own, like Catalonia and the Basque Country, have established a large number of bilingual educational programs.[169] People in these autonomous communities have their linguistic rights guaranteed by the Statutes and ensured by the different Language Planning Acts. As far as education is concerned, all the Language Planning Acts respond to the demand that students have as good knowledge of Castilian as of the other official language by the end of their compulsory education. Thus, this goal makes the education systems in

---

[168] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129

[169] Huguet, p. 70

these autonomous communities bilingual education systems since, for a large number of students, school is the only place where they can acquire skills in a language different from Castilian.[170]

2.2.3.6. Major Reforms and Laws

2.2.3.6.1. From Ley Moyano (1857) to LGE (1970)

Spain's education policy has undergone significant changes since the adoption of *Ley de Instrucción Pública* (Public Instruction Act), the first comprehensive law regulating the country's education system, in 1857. This law, known also as *Ley Moyano* (Moyano Act), was the only act governing the Spanish education system until 1970, which primarily dealt with issues such as the intervention of the church in education, the promotion of private (mainly Catholic) education, the importance of science in secondary education and the inclusion of scientific and technical studies in post-secondary education. The century following the adoption of *Ley Moyano* was characterized by political instability. It was a period of upheavals and rapid succession of different governments with different agendas, which explains the lack of uniformity in education policy and the contradictory nature of the education reforms introduced by the various regimes. [171]

Necessitated by the socio-political and economic realities of the 1960s, characterized by rapid industrialization processes, economic and demographic growth,

---

[170] *Ibid*., pp. 74-75

[171] *Ibid*., p. 12

an extensive and in-depth reform of Spain's education system was carried out. This reform was implemented under the 1970 *Ley General de Educación y Financiamiento de la Reforma Educativa, LGE* (General Act on Education and Financing of Educational reform), which had the objective of overcoming the inconsistencies brought about by the various partial reforms that had been introduced in the past. The main contributions of this reform included: the extension of education to the entire population between the ages of 6 and 14; the emphasis on the quality of education for everyone; the recognition of the role of the state as a key actor in the planning and evaluation of education at each level and in every institution; the support for private institutions of education at non-university level; and the establishment of relations between the education system and the labor market.[172]

2.2.3.6.2. From the LGE (1970) to the LOE (2006)

The fast pace of reform activity since the 1970 *Ley General de Educación* (*LGE*) and the transformation from autarky to modernism have been the two most prominent characteristics of Spain's education which have distinguished it from its counterparts in the rest of the western world.[173] The end of Francisco Franco's regime in 1975 and the Constitution of 1978 mark the restoration of democracy and the beginning of a continuous and gradual decentralization process which has affected many aspects of the Spanish society's life and institutions. A major step towards this decentralization is the division of the country's territory into seventeen Autonomous Communities which

---

[172] *Ibid.*, p. 13

[173] Boyd-Barrett and O'Malley, p. 1

have been assuming a variety of executive and legislative powers, including in the field of education.[174] These linguistically and culturally diverse regions of Spain – including Andalusia, the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia – were granted a certain level of political autonomy from the Madrid-based central state government. As a result, the administration of education within each of the Autonomous Communities is almost fully a competency of the individual autonomous government.[175]

Since the mid-1980s, which mark the beginning of an unprecedented reform initiative in the country, many acts have been passed. Over the years, some of these acts have been modified and others repealed. The current legislative framework, which regulates and guides the Spanish education system, comprises the 1978 Constitution as well as four organic acts. These acts are: the 1985 *Ley Orgánica Reguladora del Derecho a la Educación, LODE* (Organic Act on the Right to Education), the 2001 *Ley Orgánica de Universidades, LOU* (Organic Act on Universities), the 2002 *Ley Orgánica de las Cualificaciones y de la Formación Profesional, LOCFP* (Organic Act on Qualifications and Vocational Training), and the 2006 *Ley Orgánica de Educación, LOE* (Organic Act on Education).[176] The 1978 Constitution acknowledges education as a fundamental right, outlines the guiding principles of educational legislation, guarantees individual freedom and democratic participation in education, establishes university autonomy, and allocates powers between the state administration and the

---

[174] *The Education System in Spain*, p. 1

[175] Teasley, p. 251

[176] *The Education System in Spain*, p. 16

autonomous communities. The Constitution also deals with other fundamental rights closely related to education, such as religious freedom, the right to culture, children's rights and human rights in general.[177]

The *LODE* aims at guaranteeing the right to education and academic freedom and encouraging society's participation in education. It regulates both public and private schools, their organization and operation. It also sets up the agreements by which private schools can be funded by the state (*centros concertados*). The *LOU* regulates the higher education system and has the goal of improving the quality of university education. It puts the state administration in charge of the structure and cohesion of the university system; bestows more powers on the autonomous communities with regard to their institutions of higher education; grants universities more autonomy and strengthens the relations between the university and society. This act is also associated with the creation of a new system for hiring teaching staff based on ability and equity as well as with the *Agencia Nacional de Evaluación de la Calidad y Acreditación, ANECA* (National Agency for the Evaluation of Quality and Accreditation), whose task is to evaluate teaching, curricula, research, management, and services.[178]

2.2.3.6.3. From the LOE (2006) to the Present Time

As for the *LOE,* it has the general goal of providing every citizen with quality education, at each level of the education system. In order to achieve this objective, the act aims at getting the different actors of the educational community (teachers,

---

[177] *Ibid.*, p. 17

[178] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19

administrators, parents, organizations, etc.) to collaborate. In addition, the *LOE* is shaped by a strong commitment to work towards achieving the educational goals outlined by the European Union for the coming few years. Thus, the act guarantees that the Spanish education system will make pursuing these goals its priority. Those that are particularly influenced by recent political, demographic, economic and social processes promote social cohesion, cooperation and solidarity, respect for people's fundamental rights and freedom, acknowledgment and appreciation of linguistic and cultural diversity The implementation of *LOE*, which started in the academic year 2006/07, is supposed to be completed by the academic year 2009/10.[179]

As far as prevention and treatment of school failure are concerned, the *LOE* has the objective of improving academic performance in general. It aims at reducing both early dropout rates and the comparatively high rates of students completing basic education without attaining a qualification. In fact, as its stipulations suggest, this law has the overarching goals of ensuring quality and equity in education for all students. To this end, the *LOE* supports combining the principles of a standard education with organizational and curricular adjustments aimed at meeting the needs of a diverse student body. In addition, recent legislation has recognized the necessity to grant schools a certain degree of autonomy so that they can adapt their activity to the characteristics and specific circumstances of their students,[180] which is an essential step towards providing quality education for everyone.

---

[179] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20

[180] *Ibid.*, p. 99

According to the *LOE*, the compulsory secondary education should ensure that students not only develop their study and work habits but also acquire basic cultural knowledge. With regard to students' diversity, the *LOE* establishes some general principles, among which are: curricular adaptations, inclusion of subjects, offering optional subjects, remedial and individual programs for students who require specific instructional support. These and other principles and measures are promoted by the 2006 law with the objective of preventing discrimination and guaranteeing that every student achieves the goals of compulsory secondary education. In addition, the *LOE* stipulates that secondary schools promote and emphasize in their curricula the values of a multicultural society such as respecting others, practicing tolerance and dialogue, strengthening human rights, rejecting violence and prejudices of any kind. Furthermore, the law requires that schools help students develop the ability to understand and express themselves in one or more foreign languages correctly as well as acquire appreciation and basic knowledge of their own and others' history and culture.[181]

2.2.4. Foreign/Immigrant Students in Spain

Although the absolute number of immigrant children under 16 is still small compared to that of Spanish children, the presence of foreign students at Spanish schools poses a significant challenge to the country's education system. Moreover, the numbers of immigrant students are expected to further grow in the near future. In addition, the great diversity with regard to their ethnic, cultural and linguistic

---

[181] *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102

backgrounds, which is demonstrated in the table below (Table 4), has made the situation particularly difficult for Spanish education authorities at every level, i.e. local, regional, national, and international.[182]

Table 4: Foreign populations under 16 years of age in Spain[183]

Nationality	Number	Percent
Morocco	40,246	39.3%
Dominican Republic	4,219	4.1%
China	4,100	4.0%
Germany	3,824	3.7%
United Kingdom	3,658	3.6%
Portugal	3,210	3.1%
France	3,045	3.0%
Gambia	2,911	2.8%
Colombia	2,718	2.6%
Peru	2,462	2.4%
Ecuador	2,097	2.1%
Italy	2,027	2.0%
Argentina	1,923	1.9%
Cuba	1,782	1.7%
Philippines	1,506	1.5%
India	1,347	1.3%
United States	912	0.9%
Others	20,282	19.8%
Total	102,269	100.00%

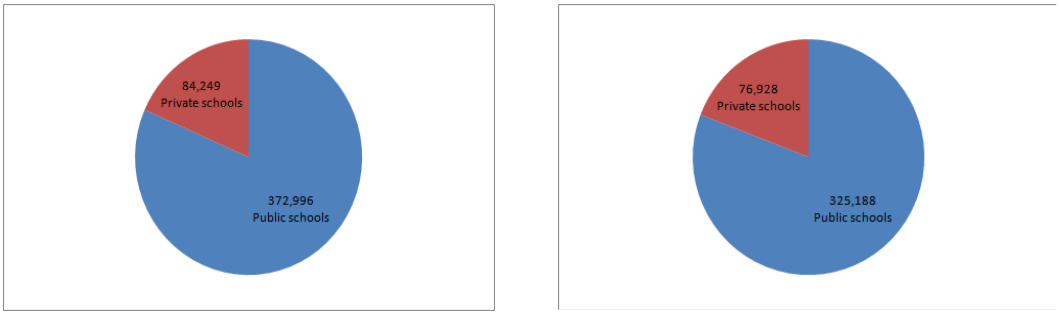
[182] Aparicio and Tornos, 2003, p. 223

[183] Aparicio and Tornos' elaboration from data obtained by the Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración , OPI (Permanent Immigration Observatory) from the Ministry of the Interior, 2000. In Aparicio and Tornos, 2003, p. 224

2.2.4.1. Elementary and Secondary Education

In the academic year of 2004-2005, in Spain there were 457,245 foreign children enrolled in elementary and secondary educational institutions. 372,996 of them attended state schools while the remaining 84,249 went to private schools. This is an increase of more than 50,000 students compared to the previous academic year (2003-2004) when the total number of foreign students was 402,116 with 325,188 of them in public and 76,928 in private schools.[184]

Figure 3. Distribution of foreign students in public and private schools



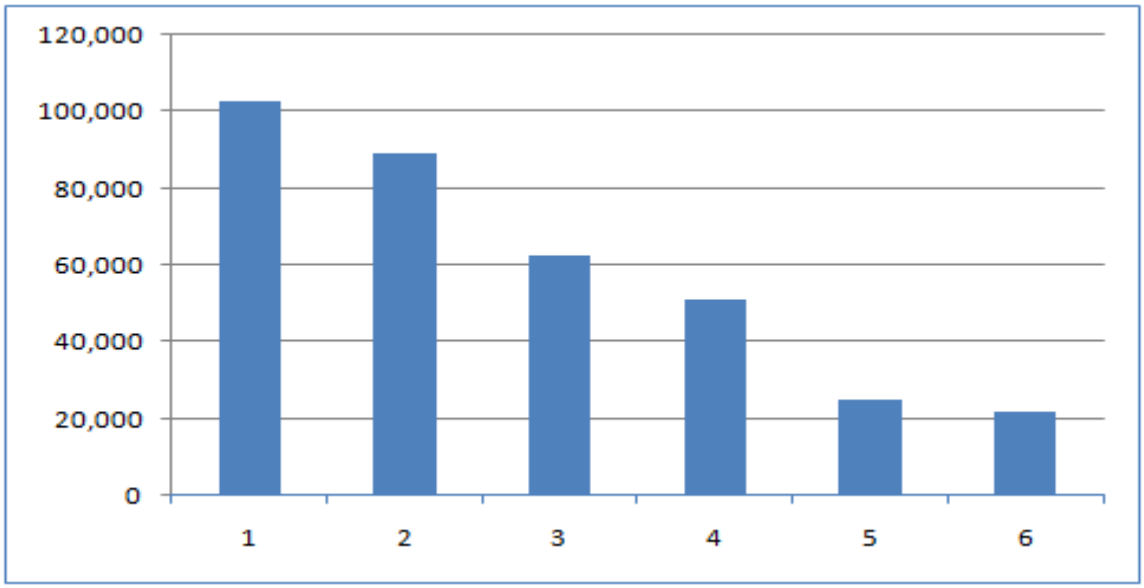
Academic year 2004-2005 **Academic Year 2003-2004**

The areas with the highest concentration of foreign students, in descending order, are: Madrid (102,978), Catalonia (89,031 of which 61,850 are in Barcelona, 12,334 in Girona and 10,026 in Tarragona), the Valencia Community (62,411 of which 30,093 in Alicante and 24,112 in Valencia), Andalusia (51,316 of which 20,691 are in Málaga and 12,028 in Almería), the Canary Islands (24,946), and Murcia (21,894).[185]

[184] *Anuario Estadístico de Inmigración: Año 2005*, p. 367

[185] *Ibid.*

Figure 4. Autonomous communities with the highest concentrations of foreign students

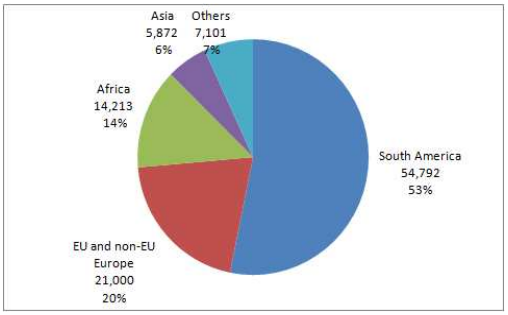


Madrid **Catalonia** **Valencia Community** **Andalusia** **The Canary Islands** **Murcia**

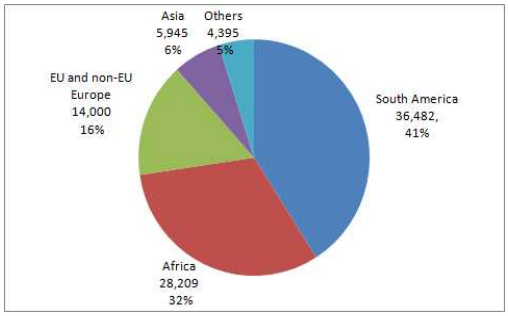
With regard to their country of origin, out of all 102,978 foreign students in Madrid, 54,792 come from South America, about 21,000 from Europe (EU and non-EU countries), 14,213 from Africa, 5,872 from Asia, etc. In Catalonia, of the 89,031 foreign students, 36,482 come from South America, 28,209 from Africa, about 14,000 from Europe (EU and non-EU countries), 5,945 from Asia, etc. In the Valencia Community, of the 62,411 foreign students, 27,107 are from South America, almost 25,000 are from European (EU and non-EU) countries, 7,408 are from Africa, 1,719 are from Asia, etc. In Andalusia, of the 51,316 foreign students, 15,157 are from South America, almost 22,000 are from European (EU and non-EU) countries, 10,334 are from Africa, 1,811 are from Asia, etc. In the Canary Islands, of all 24,946 foreign students, 11,529 are from South America, almost 8,000 are from European (EU and non-EU countries), 2,219 are from Africa, 1,910 are from Asia, etc. In Murcia, of all

21,894 foreign students, 11,838 are from South America, 6,086 are from Africa, a little over 3,000 are from European (EU and non-EU) countries, 352 are from Asia, etc.[186]

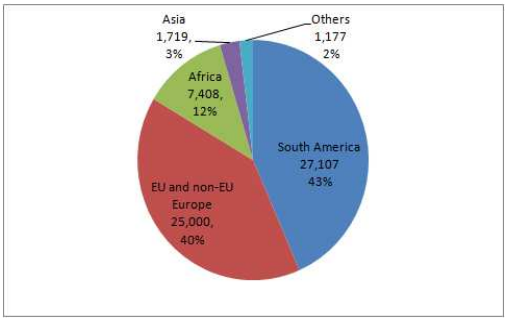
Figure 5. Distribution of different groups of foreign students by autonomous community



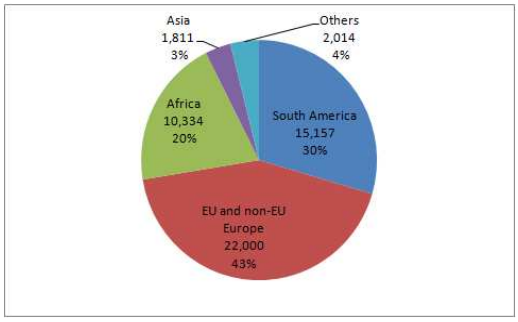
Madrid



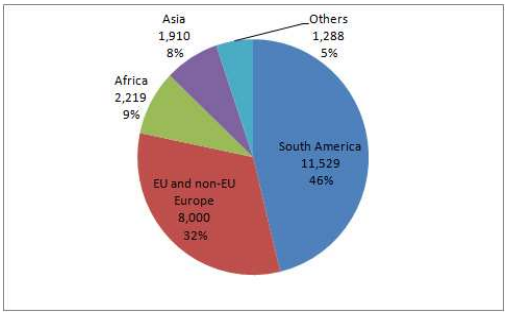
Catalonia



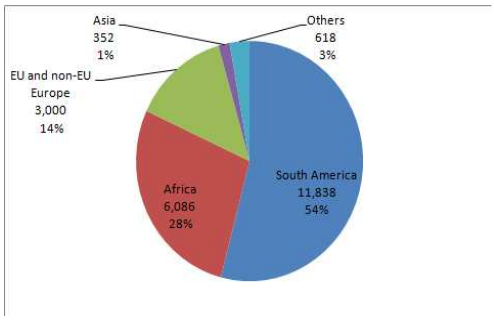
The Valencia Community



Andalusia



The Canary Islands

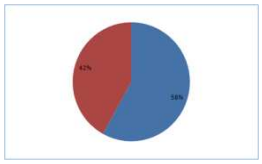


Murcia

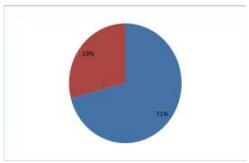
[186] *Ibid.*, p. 370

In terms of foreign students' distribution in public and private schools, an interesting and important tendency can be observed. For the academic year 2004-2005, 46,137 of the students coming from EU countries attended public schools while 15,555 of them attended private educational institutions. For students from non-EU European countries, these numbers are, respectively, 49,890 and 8,779. As for students from South America, 166,809 of them went to public and 38,063 of them went to private schools. For students from Asia, the numbers are, respectively, 14,990 and 6,227. With regard to students from Africa, 77,611 of them attended public and 9,585 private schools. The numbers for student from North America, Central America, and Oceania, are, respectively: 2,904 and 2,130; 13,461 and 3,734; 164 and 62.[187]

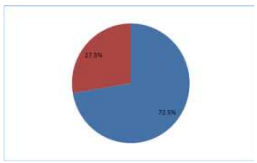
Figure 6. Distribution of foreign students in public and private schools by place of origin



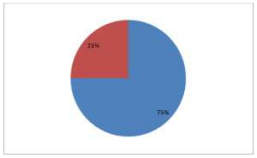
North America



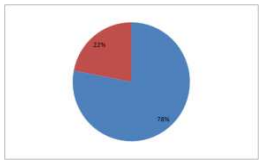
Asia



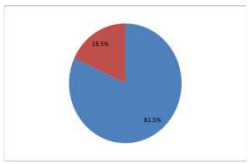
Oceania



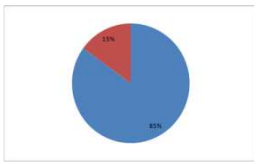
EU member states



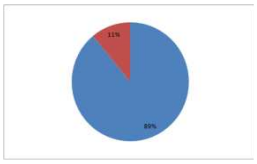
Central America



South America



non-EU Europe



Africa

If one does the calculations, one will find out that, in the 2004-2005, more than 42% of all North American students, about 29% of all Asian students, almost 27.5% of all students from Oceania, about 25% of all students coming from EU countries, about

[187] *Ibid.*, pp. 376-377

22% of all Central American students, about 18.5% of all South American students, about 15% of all students coming from non-EU European countries, and almost 11% of all African students attended private schools.[188] As these numbers demonstrate, African students in Spain are the ones least represented at private educational institutions. In addition, the gap between students from Africa and those from non-EU European countries (the second least represented group in private schools) has most probably increased significantly over the last few years since countries like Romania and Bulgaria, which have constituted a big portion of the non-EU European population at the time the data were collected, joined the EU at the beginning of 2007. Moreover, maybe even larger discrepancies would have been revealed, if a differentiation had been made between Sub-Saharan Africans and North Africans rather than placing them together in the general category of "Africans." However, according to the data from the academic year 2004-2005, the majority of all African students in Spanish primary and secondary schools, whose total number is 87,196, are North Africans. 69,305 of them are of Moroccan and 3,494 of them of Algerian origin.[189]

As for the foreign students' distribution across public and private schools within the autonomous community of Catalonia for the period 1999-2006, it is presented by the table below:

---

[188] The blue sectors represent the percentages of foreign students attending public schools and the red sectors represent the percentages of foreign students going to private schools.

[189] *Anuario Estadístico de Inmigración: Año 2005*, p. 381

Table 5. Foreign student distribution across public and private schools (1999-2006)[190]

	State Sector			Private Sector			
Academic year	**Foreign students**	**Total students**	**Foreign students as % of total students in state sector**	**Foreign students**	**Total students**	**Foreign students as % of total students in private sector**	**Foreign students as % of total students**
1999-2000	16,293	448,884	3.6%	3,466	329,856	1.0%	2.2%
2000-2001	20,278	446,353	4.5%	3,500	326,104	1.1%	2.7%
2001-2002	29,355	451,651	6.5%	5,442	324,281	1.7%	4.0%
2002-2003	43,370	465,194	9.3%	8,556	324,224	2.6%	6.0%
2003-2004	62,992	596,873	10.6%	11,499	377,508	3.0%	7.6%
2004-2005	76,223	637,391	11.96%	15,019	419,048	3.58%	10.3%
2005-2006	92,399	655,505	14.10%	17,018	421,071	4.04%	12.0%

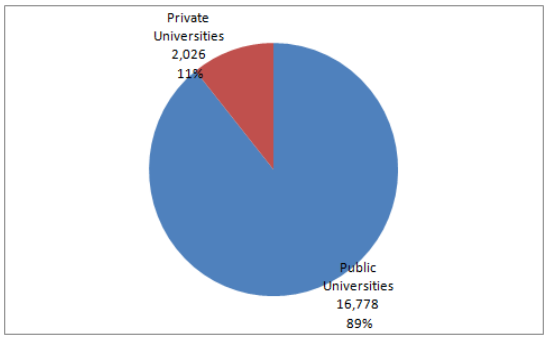
2.2.4.2. University Education

With regard to 1st and 2nd cycle university education, in the academic year 2003-2004, there were 18,804 foreign students at Spanish higher education institutions constituting 1.26% of the whole university student body. This presents an increase from the previous year (2002-2003) when the total numbers of foreign students was 16,905. Of all 18,804 foreign students at Spanish universities in 2003-2004, 16,778 of them attended public and 2,026 went to private higher education institutions. The universities with highest concentration of foreign students are mainly in Madrid, Barcelona, Granada, Valencia, Malaga, Salamanca, the Basque Country, Salamanca,

[190] "Language and Social Cohesion Plan: Education and immigration", p. 9

Seville, and the Canary Islands. Of all these 18,804 students, about 10,050 are women and 8,750 are men.[191]

Figure 7. Distribution of foreign students at public and private universities (1st and 2nd cycle)



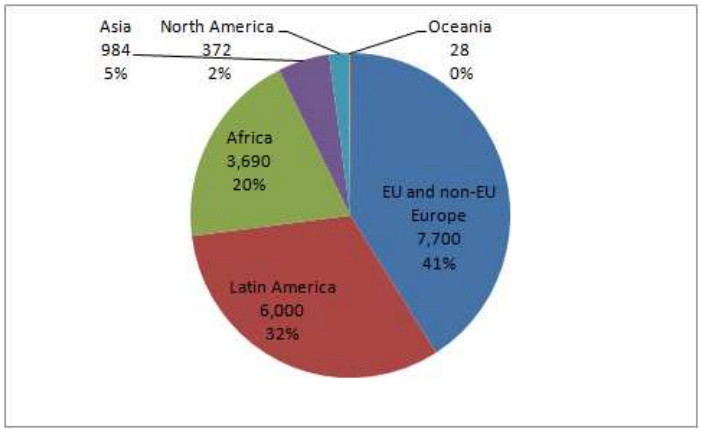
Academic Year 2003-2004

Of all 18,804 students, about 7,700 (approximately 41%) are from European (EU and non-EU) countries, 6,000 (about 32%) are from Latin America, 3,690 (about 19.6%) are from Africa, 984 (5.23%) are from Asia, 372 (1.98%) are from North America, and 28 (0.15%) are from Oceania.[192]

[191] *Anuario Estadístico de Inmigración: Año 2005*, pp. 387-389

[192] *Ibid.*

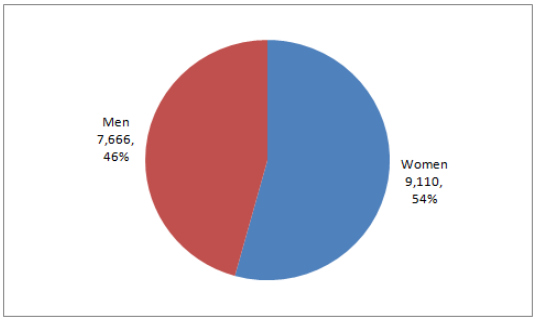
Figure 8. Distribution of foreign students at Spanish universities (1st and 2nd cycle) by place of origin

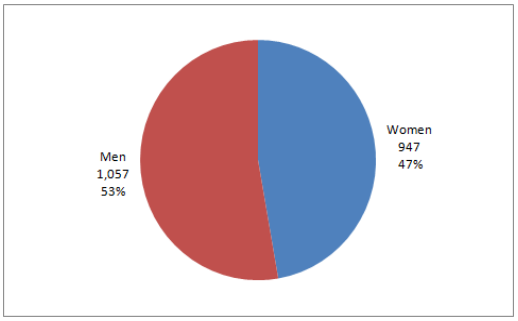


Academic Year 2003-2004

It is interesting that, while the foreign female students at Spanish public universities are more than the men there (9,110 vs. 7,666), at private higher education institutions women are outnumbered by men (947 vs. 1057).[193]

Figure 9. Distribution of foreign students in public and private universities (1st and 2nd cycle) by gender





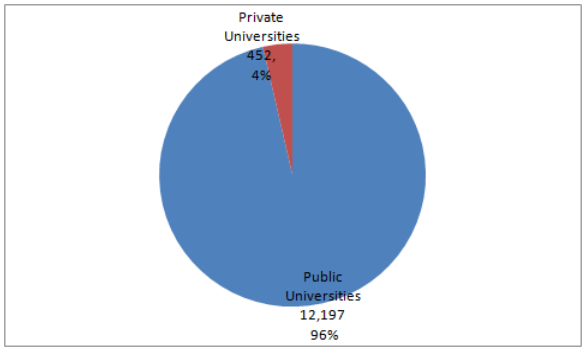
Public universities (2003-2004) **Private universities (2003-2004)**

In the same academic year, 2003-2004, the total number of foreign students in the 3rd cycle of university education was 12,649, which constitutes 17.89% of the whole

[193] *Ibid.*

university student body in this cycle. The number demonstrates an increase from the previous academic year (2002-2003) when the number of foreign students at this university level was 11,778. Of all 12,649 foreign students in 3rd cycle university programs, 12,197 were in public universities and 452 attended private higher education institutions.

Figure 10. Distribution of foreign students at public and private universities (3rd cycle)

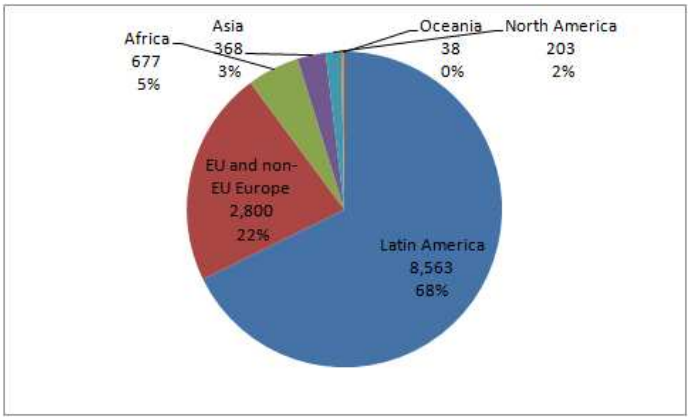


Academic year 2003-2004

Of these 12,649 students, 8,563 (67.70%) are from Latin America, 2,800 are from European (EU and non-EU) countries (22.14%), 677 (5.35%) are from Africa, 368 (2.91%) are from Asia, 203 (1.6%) are from North America, and 38 (0.30%) are from Oceania.[194]

[194] *Ibid.*, pp. 405-406

Figure 11. Distribution of foreign students at Spanish universities (3rd cycle) by place of origin



Academic year 2003-2004

During the 2005-2006, there were more than 500,000 immigrant students in the country, which represents 7.4% of the total number of students enrolled in Spanish schools. Almost 45% of all immigrant children attended schools in Catalonia and Madrid.[195] In response to the increasing number of immigrant students and their educational demands, the Madrid Regional Government has established the Compensatory Education Regional Plan. According to this plan, which has been adopted since 1999, intercultural education should be provided to all students. Key elements of this approach are: knowledge, appreciation and respect of others and other cultures. Transitional classrooms, which started during the 2002-2003, have been created to assist immigrant children who cannot actively participate in regular classes because of their limited language skills. However, in order to facilitate their integration, immigrant students also attend several regular classes every day. Among the goals of transitional classrooms are: fostering self-esteem and confidence. The

[195] Permisán and Fernández, pp. 207-208

students in these transitional classrooms have a "tutor-student" from the Spanish students and a "student-monitor" from the students' own country who speaks their native language. What is interesting and important to note is that 42% of these transitional classrooms in Madrid were concentrated in *centros concertados*, which have only 25.6% of the immigrant children in the area.[196]

2.2.4.3. Recent Legislative Acts and Education Programs Targeting Foreign/Immigrant Students

During the 2005-2006, there were more than 500,000 immigrant students in the country, which represents 7.4% of the total number of students enrolled in Spanish schools. Almost 45% of all immigrant children attended schools in Catalonia and Madrid.[197] With the goal of meeting these students' needs, facilitating their integration and increasing their future life chances, certain initiatives, such as the enactment of legislative acts and the implementation of education programs, have been undertaken by the Spanish government, as well as by local authorities.

2.2.4.3.1. Legislative Acts

In light of recent political, economic and demographic changes - in particular, the growing number of immigrants - within the country and within the European Union, the 2006 *LOE* emphasizes certain issues which are essential for the future development of education. With regard to secondary education, the law promotes

---

[196] *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211

[197] *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208

measures fostering coexistence at school and dealing with absenteeism and school failure. Because of the increasing rates of difficulties regarding coexistence in schools (particularly in secondary schools), in 2006, the Ministry of Education and Science and several educational organizations signed the Action Plan for the Promotion and Improvement of School Coexistence. This Plan, among other things, stipulates the establishment of the State Observatory of School Coexistence and Conflict Prevention in Schools, whose responsibilities include: revising legislation regarding coexistence in schools, organizing action programs in educational institutions, and incorporating special teacher training with the goal of facilitating coexistence in schools.[198]

2.2.4.3.2. Education Programs

2.2.4.3.2.1. Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació[199] "Language and Social Cohesion Plan: Education and immigration"

In light of the challenges posed by receiving and integrating students who have arrived recently in Spain and who are new to the country's education system, an Office of Language and Social Cohesion was created in 2004 in Catalonia. The goal of the Office is to "guarantee equal opportunities for all in access to quality education" and to "respect cultural diversity."[200] The Government of Catalonia has recognized that immigrant children should not been viewed only as a challenge but also as an invaluable asset that can be used for the cultural and social enrichment of the region's

---

[198] *The Education System in Spain*, p. 99

[199] *Generalitat de Catalunya* means Government of Catalonia. *Departament d'Educació* means Department of Education.

[200] "Language and Social Cohesion Plan: Education and immigration.", p. 14

education system. Furthermore, it has acknowledged that the number of immigrant children, coupled with different forms of social exclusion, has necessitated the provision of full cultural and social education for all students in Catalonia, regardless of their origin and background. As a result, new teaching strategies have been implemented with the goal of meeting the demands and needs of foreign children and, at the same time, promoting diversity and ensuring equality for all students. An integral part of recent transformations within Catalonia's education system has been the consolidation of "the Catalan language as the mainstay of a multilingual and intercultural education policy in order to achieve greater social cohesion."[201]

2.2.4.3.2.2. The Madrid Compensatory Education Regional Plan

In response to the increasing number of immigrant students and their educational demands, the Madrid Regional Government has established the Compensatory Education Regional Plan. According to this plan, which has been adopted since 1999, intercultural education should be provided to all students. Key elements of this approach are: knowledge, appreciation and respect of others and other cultures. Transitional classrooms, which started during the 2002-2003, have been created to assist immigrant children who cannot actively participate in regular classes because of their limited language skills. However, in order to facilitate their integration, immigrant students also attend several regular classes every day. Among the goals of transitional classrooms are: fostering self-esteem and confidence. The students in these transitional classrooms have a "tutor-student" from the Spanish students and a

---

[201] *Ibid*., pp. 3-5

"student-monitor" from the students' own country who speaks their native language. What is interesting and important to note is that 42% of these transitional classrooms in Madrid were concentrated in *centros concertados*, which have only 25.6% of the immigrant children in the area.[202]

Besides the transitional classrooms, educational compensatory classrooms have been created to help students between the ages of 14 and 16, who are at risk of dropping out of school due to family or social problems. In addition, based on agreements between the Spanish government and the governments of Morocco and Portugal, programs have been introduced that promote the language and culture of immigrants' countries of origin. At schools where the above-mentioned educational services are not available, "itinerant support service" is provided for immigrant students. This kind of service, i.e. mainly language teaching, is usually available at schools with a limited number of immigrant students. There are also external compensation services taking place outside the official school timetable. They aim at cooperating with the local community. Finally, there are interpreter and translator services which assist the communication process between schools and families with limited Spanish language skills.[203]

2.2.4.3.2.3. The ELCO Programs

In addition, education programs intended to develop a multicultural society by teaching the languages and cultures of immigrants' countries of origin have been

---

[202] Permisán and Fernández, pp. 210-211

[203] *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212

introduced in Spain. These programs, which are known as programs of *education des langues et cultures d'origine* (*ELCO*) have been directed primarily towards Moroccan and Portuguese immigrant children. As of 2001, it was the only public program acknowledging the language of the country's largest immigrant group. However, having in mind that studying Arabic through the *ELCO* program is possible only in some primary schools, one can understand how unstable and limited this program actually is. This program is a result of an initiative undertaken by the European Social Foundation with the goal of avoiding problems of integration that can be experienced by immigrant children, such as school absence, academic failure, social exclusion, and marginalization.[204]

In fact, after the bilateral Spanish-Moroccan Cultural Cooperation Programme, in July 1994, a language and culture teaching program was introduced for Moroccan children. The main objectives of the program included teaching Arabic and Moroccan culture and improving Moroccan children's integration in schools. This program was also aimed at promoting self-esteem among immigrant students and reducing ethnic prejudice. While Morocco was in charge of the Moroccan teachers and the pedagogical materials, Spain was in charge of the implementation and support of the program in public schools with high concentration of Moroccan children. However, the lack of assessment of the program has contributed for the *ELCO* to be perceived as a secondary subject. This is further emphasized by the fact that Arabic is offered only in primary school. While in 1997/1998, in Spain there were more than 16,000 Moroccan children at Spanish schools, the total number of students in *ELCO* was

[204] López García and Mijares Molina, pp. 279-281

1035, which demonstrates how far the program was from reaching all the children that could benefit from such a program.[205]

2.2.5. New Challenges: Discrimination, Racism, Xenophobia, Islamophobia

2.2.5.1. The Western European Context

At the beginning of the 1990s, several Western European countries experienced an increase in the number of violent racist acts. This is believed to be the culmination of the rise of xenophobia that began in Western Europe in the 1960s. There are two main causes that are thought to have provoked the emergence of these racist and xenophobic sentiments and even movements. First, as a result of the internationalization of the labor market during the postcolonial period, new migration patterns started to develop. Influenced by recruiting programs such as the *Gastarbeiter* system in countries like Germany and Switzerland, migration from low-wage to high-wage countries began to grow rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s. In countries of immigration, social groups with limited access to resources tended to view newcomers as rivals with whom they would have to compete for jobs, housing, social welfare, and education.[206]

Second, as a consequence of globalization, markets of all types (i.e. labor, products, and services markets) became more flexible and, thus, intensified competition both within countries and between states. Competition, in turn, pressured states to reduce their services in areas such as healthcare, social welfare, and

---

[205] *Ibid*., pp. 181-185

[206] *Xenophobia*, p. 16651

education. This significantly affected the segments of the population already living on the margins of their respective societies since these segments were placed in direct competition with immigrants for jobs and public services. So, it is no wonder that these marginal social groups felt threatened and, as a result, tuned into "the main breeding ground of xenophobic and racist ideologies". Not only were demands made on part of these groups that states ensure protection against immigrants for their own populations but they would also find right wing parties' racist points of view increasingly appealing.[207]

Thus, immigrants, who constitute some of "the weakest and the most vulnerable segments of society," often leave their homes in search of better life opportunities in richer countries only to face rejection, exploitation, discrimination and racism in the host societies. They have rights, of course, which are protected by laws and institutions that should ensure their equal treatment but this is not generally the case.[208] As Alvite *et al.* argue, the type of racism which can be seen sprout in the second half of the 20th century has much in common with the anti-Semitic or anti-Gypsy racism existing in interwar Europe, or with anti-Black racism of the white population in the U.S. Mid-West, or with any other form of discrimination, inferiorization or rejection of ethnic minorities that have emerged during the history of Western domination.[209]

---

[207] *Ibid.*

[208] Aierbe *et al.*, p. 9

[209] *Ibid.*, p. 8

2.2.5.2. Europe's Muslims

Nowadays, in the beginning of the 21st century, about 23 million Muslims live in Europe, a number which constitutes approximately 4.5% of the whole population of the continent. Just for comparison, there were only 800,000 in 1950.[210] Not only do around 1 million Muslim immigrants come into Europe every year but also birth rates of European Muslims are more than three times higher than those of non-Muslim Europeans.[211] With the decline in European population in general and the increase in Muslim population, it is expected that, by 2050, at least 20% of the continent's population will be comprised of Muslims. However, despite their large numbers and significant presence in most Western European countries - particularly in poorer neighborhoods of industrialized urban areas such as the Ruhr region in Germany, the suburbs of major French cities, or the boroughs of greater London, Muslim immigrants were hardly ever or, at least, much less frequently put in the spotlight until late 20th century.[212]

Europe's Muslims are anything but a homogeneous group. Not only have they different ethnic and cultural backgrounds but they also belong to various Islamic denominations and sects, as well as they differ in some of their beliefs and practices. However, they all share some kind of commitment to Islam and most of them face similar challenges in their everyday life. In general, they are concerned about the exclusion and discrimination they encounter, about the intense hostility that their very

---

[210] Erdenir, p. 2, citing US Department of State, *Annual Report on International Religious Freedom,* 2003.

[211] Erdenir, p. 2, citing Ömer Taspinar, "Europe's Muslim Street," *Foreign Policy,* March 2003, p.77.

[212] Erdenir, p. 2

presence provokes "in virtually every corner of Europe where they have settled." The perception that Islam inevitably renders Muslims vicious and violent is further supplemented with a popular image of Muslims as "overcommitted fanatics" or "fundamentalists." They are frequently regarded as anti-democratic, authoritarian, and backward; they are often considered to be "such blind followers of convention as to be outside the bounds of rational thought and reflection."[213]

Many Muslim communities in Europe are characterized by a very low degree of social integration and a high level of dependency on welfare provision.[214] The experience of a large number of young Muslims, who have not been successful at school and who are facing unemployment and other forms of social exclusion and marginalization, has been to a great extent affected by not only by educational and social neglect but also by discrimination and racism. The latter manifests itself in different ways in different European countries. Whereas in Britain it is associated with skin color, in mainland Europe, although still closely related to complexion, it often has a more anti-foreign, or xenophobic, character. However, regardless of its character, the various forms of racism and xenophobia existing in Europe have a significant component on common, i.e. an anti-Muslim element. This element can be expressed in many ways and it can pick on a variety of specific customs or attributes, including dress, food, language, religious practices, and family relations. Even though these might be associated with only one particular Muslim community, they are

---

[213] Ballard, pp. 38-39

[214] Entzinger, p. 35

frequently generalized as typical for all Muslims and used in a denigratory way,[215] which further breeds prejudice, discrimination, racism, and xenophobia.

Even before September 11, 2001, many of Europe's Muslims were subject to economic discrimination, especially in the context of growing unemployment after the fall of Communism in Europe. They were often blamed to present a threat to the jobs and welfare of local middle-class communities. Undoubtedly, the situation deteriorated tremendously in the aftermath of September 11 and the Madrid train bombings of 2004. Muslims, who had been accused of imposing a considerable economic burden on host societies as immigrants, began to face much more serious charges. The perceived danger brought about by their culture in its various manifestations provoked the emergence of a new racism asserting the incompatibility between Islamic and European culture.[216] Soon after the attacks, Western European countries, like England, France and Germany, passed laws with the goal of cracking down on domestic terrorists, as well as restricting political asylum and immigration. Besides, the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia has reported that the number of physical attacks directed at Muslims has sharply grown since September 11.[217]

The belief shared by many Europeans that Islam and terrorism are intrinsically linked has sparked Islamophobic sentiments which have been additionally fueled by political leaders' speeches and political parties' agendas. For instance, the Spanish

---

[215] Nielsen, p. 167

[216] The terms *Islamic culture* and *European culture* are too general since they both refer to a multitude of entities. However, they are acceptable in the context of the argument developed here.

[217] Fetzer and Soper, 143

former Prime Minister, José María Aznar, who together with Italy's Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi formed a block at the 2002 EU Summit in Seville, has said that illegal immigration has to be "combated decisively" since "illegal immigration generates criminal networks and mafia rings that traffic in human beings." He has also added that "Immigration and terrorism not properly dealt with, have generated radicalism."[218] Aznar has also claimed: "The problem with al-Qaeda came as long ago as 1,300 years," thus suggesting that Islam is connected to extremism.[219] As for his Italian colleague, Silvio Berlusconi, he has also made statements which have been subject to debate and criticism, such as: "Western culture is superior to Muslim culture".[220]

2.2.5.3. Discrimination, Racism and Xenophobia towards Moroccan Immigrants in Spain

The intensification of racist and xenophobic sentiments has been observed not only in Northwestern Europe but intolerance, discrimination and xenophobia have been also increasing in the recent immigration countries of Southern Europe, particularly among the working classes of the local populations. Although these negative feelings and attitudes have not reached the extent of those in Western Europe's traditional countries of immigration, acts against immigrants were documented during the 1990s in Florence, Foffia, Genoa, Milan, Naples, and Rome. The perception of foreigners

---

[218] Calavita, p. 137, citing José Antonio Zarzalejos, "'Ma l'Europa non Tornerá Indietro: Sará Lotta Dura Contro i Clandestini,'" *La Repubblica*, June 18, 2003:3

[219] Erdenir, p. 3, citing *The Economist*, 28 July 2005

[220] Edrenir, p. 3, citing Christopher Allen and Jorgen Nielsen, "Summary Report on Islamophobia in the EU after 11 September 2001," *European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia* (2002) p. 47

has also deteriorated significantly in Greece, where racist and xenophobic attitudes among working-class locals have reached an alarming level, especially with regard to Albanians. Despite the comparatively high levels of tolerance for immigrants in Spain, there has been a considerable increase in hostility towards newcomers, particularly towards North Africans. Moreover, there has been a growth in the number of acts of violence committed against immigrants in Barcelona and Madrid.[221]

Muslim communities in Spain, especially those of recent immigrants, constitute a marginalized social class, often subject to intolerance, suspicion, contempt, even violence and xenophobia.[222] In fact, xenophobia in Spain used to have one single target: Gypsies. However, during the 1980s, the Spanish discovered other "others", the majority of whom are immigrants from North Africa. Not long thereafter, the first xenophobic attitudes emerged. Incidents have been reported in areas of high concentration of immigrants, such as the cities of Barcelona and Madrid, Lerida, Valencia, etc. The most afflicted communities have been the Black-African and the Maghrebi, largely Moroccan, ones.[223] However, there were no major acts of violence until November 1992, when an attack on Dominican squatters in the suburbs of Madrid led to one murder and one serious injury. From then on, accusations of violence against immigrants came streaming one after another. Anti-immigrant graffiti, direct assaults on the streets and even the violation of immigrants' private

---

[221] Tsardanidis and Guerra, 331-332

[222] Abumalham, p. 84

[223] del Olmo Vincén, pp. 320-322

correspondence mark the beginning of a new period in Spain's history as a country of immigration.[224]

2.2.5.4. The 2000 El Ejido Incident

The El Ejido incident of February 2000 marks a watershed in the history of Spain as a country of immigration. El Ejido is a town located in the Spanish province of Almería, which was a sparsely populated region in the 1960s. Much of its economic growth occurred in the early 1990s as a result of both the intensification of cultivation and the arrival of many Moroccan workers. Now, Almería has one of highest ratios of foreigners to locals in the country, with the number of legal immigrants having doubled in a period of only five years, from 11,255 in 1995 to more than 25,000 in 1999. However, with approximately 70 percent of immigrants in Almería being undocumented, the actual number of the whole immigrant population in the region is around 100,000.[225]

El Ejido, a product of the newly developed greenhouse industry, emerged comparatively recently and was formally incorporated in 1987. With some of the highest levels of productivity in greenhouse industry anywhere, El Ejido has over 6,500 farms. The immigrant workforce consists almost entirely of Moroccans, the majority of whom are undocumented. The typical workday is ten hours, with humidity at around 90 % and temperatures rising up to 113 degrees F inside the greenhouses. At times when around-the-clock security is needed, the workday easily extends to twenty-

---

[224] *Ibid*., p. 327

[225] Calavita, p. 70

four hours and workers spend the night in the plastic buildings. Despite the heat, humidity and air contaminated by pesticides, owners frequently reduce immigrant workers' wages for these accommodations.[226]

It is striking that, despite the large number of immigrants working in El Ejido, less than 1% of them live in the town. The rest of them live in what is called *cortijos* (country houses). The *cortijos* of El Ejido are houses located outside of the town. They are either isolated from one another or they constitute groups of 10 -12. In the past, those were small neighborhoods where the poorest people lived. Later, after they were abandoned by their residents, the *cortijos* were transformed little by little into farm sheds. However, they were never abandoned by their owners. When immigrants began to occupy them, they had to pay the landlord in one way or another, i.e. by underpaid or unpaid labor. This situation has been compared to that of ghettos in the United States where slumlords collect rent for neglected and dilapidated residential buildings. However, the living conditions in the *cortijos* are worse since they often lack floors, paint, and proper sanitation. In addition, there are problems of overcrowding and frequent coexistence with animals.[227]

The residential segregation of immigrants, combined with exploitation in the workplace and consistent exposure to prejudice, discrimination, and xenophobia were the underlying causes of the events that took place in February of 2000.[228] It was then that a group of local men in Almería set up barricades on the roads leading to El Ejido

---

[226] *Ibid*., pp. 70-71

[227] Martínez Veiga, pp. 89- 90

[228] Pumares *et al*., p. 99

and stormed the neighborhoods of Moroccan immigrant farmworkers. Armed with knives, rocks, baseball bats, and crowbars, they set fire to immigrants' cars, stores and even homes. By the time the rampage was over, tens of people had been injured and hundreds of immigrants left homeless.[229] These anti-Moroccan riots profoundly affected not only the Spanish but also international public opinion. They raised a series of questions related to the integration of immigrants into the Spanish society, the types of conflicts that can arise and the actions needed to be taken in order to reduce and possibly avoid such conflicts.[230]

The El Ejido incident, as Calavita points out, is a very important episode in Spain's recent history but not because it is unique nor because it is representative of Spanish attitudes. Rather, this incident serves as an "emblem" of "something both more subtle and more consequential – the real and perceived status of such immigrants as marginalized Others."[231] In fact, even before the El Ejido events, the least favorably perceived minority group was that of Moroccans, followed by Gypsies and Black Sub-Saharan immigrants. This means that, during the period of only five years (i.e. from 1995 to 1999), Spaniards' perception of Moroccans had deteriorated to such an extent that by 1999 Moroccans were held in lower regard than Gypsies, the traditionally lowest minority group.[232]

---

[229] Calavita, p. 1

[230] Pumares *et al.,* p. 99

[231] Calavita, p. 2

[232] Navas Luque and Cuadrado, pp. 177-178

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

As already discussed in Chapter 1, this study is rooted in theoretical and empirical works related to the schooling and integration of minorities. The major concepts and theories employed in the present paper are: the notion of *integration* as a two-directional process discussed in the study of Moroccans in Spain conducted by Gema Martín Muñoz and her colleagues; the different types of immigrant education policies described by Francesc Carbonell i París and elaborated on by Laura Mijares Molina; and, last but not least, John Ogbu's theory of *voluntary/immigrant* and *involuntary* minorities. As for the empirical works used in this study, they deal with the integration and education of various voluntary and involuntary minorities in different parts of the world, including Cubans and Mexicans in the United States, Turks in Australia, Maoris in New Zealand, and Burakumin people in Japan.

3.1. Theoretical Works

3.1.1. Integration as a Two-Way Process

Successful integration[233] of immigrant minority groups is believed to be crucial for their academic performance and, subsequently, socioeconomic advancement. The importance of integration is also emphasized by Gema Martín Muñoz, F. Javier García

---

[233] *Integration* also is to be distinguished from *incorporation*, which seems to be closer in meaning to *assimilation*. For example, Alejandro Portes distinguished three modes of incorporation: the government's poicy toward various immigrant groups; societal opinions and attitudes; and the ethnic community. Portes, pp. 24-25

Castaño, Ana López Sala, and Rafael Crespo in their study on Moroccans in Spain. For a long time, they argue, integration has been regarded as a synonym of assimilation, i.e. transformations that immigrant communities undergo to adapt to the dominant culture of the host country or to a universal/cosmopolitan culture. However, this idea, according to them, is based on two wrong assumptions: that the host society is homogeneous and that the process of integration concerns only the immigrant groups. In reality, neither the culture of the receiving country nor the culture of those who arrive in it is homogeneous. Also, the process of integration is a process involving the internalizing of differences and, as such, it requires that both majority and minority groups are actively engaged in it.[234]

In support of their argument, these four researchers (named above) cite M. Grudzielski, who points out that, based on the true definition of the word "integration" (from Latin, "whole," "entire," "complete") this concept cannot be applied to a single person or a single group. Instead, the idea applies to everybody, not just to a part of the whole. In the social context, Grudzielski argues, integration should affect society in its totality, not its members (an individual or a group). These ideas are further emphasized by V. de Rudder, according to whom integration consists of interdependencies between the parts of a whole, and by J. Salt who confirms that a successful process of integration is composed of three elements: the adaptation of the immigrants to the society which receives them; the adaptation of the receiving society to the immigrants; and, the adequate communication between the two populations (society and immigrants) and between each of the two populations and the government

---

[234] Martín Muñoz *et al*., pp. 21-22

authorities. Thus, A Perotti points out, the notion of integration contradicts the idea of assimilation by indicating the capacity to confront and exchange – in a position of equality of participation – norms, values, and modes of behavior, on the immigrants' part as well as on part of the receiving society. Integration, Perotti claims, is namely the gradual process during which new residents become active participants in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the host country.[235]

With regard to the integration of immigrant groups in the area of education and, particularly of immigrant children in Spanish schools, the situation seems to be quite different from what has been described above as integration. The autonomy of educational institutions in the country with regard to admission has contributed, at least in some cases, to the concentration of foreign students in public schools and, most of all, in certain public schools. In general, private schools and *centros concertados* are more reluctant to accept immigrant children, especially if they come from families with limited financial resources. Thus, immigrant children's concentration in certain schools raises important questions with regard to the "ghettoization" and stigmatization of these schools. The integration of these students, which, according to the four researchers, should rather be defined as incorporation, has not been accompanied by actions directed towards relevant adjustments in relation to the existing linguistic and cultural diversity.[236] [237]

---

[235] *Ibid*., pp. 22-23

[236] *Ibid*., pp 30-31

[237] However, the situation described here is prior to the enactment of the 2006 *Loe*.

3.1.2. Immigrant Education Policies

In her book, *Aprendiendo a Ser Marroquíes. Inmigración, Diversidad Lingüística y Escuela*, Laura Mijares Molina examines four education models[238] with regard to the schooling of minority/immigrant students. These four models are based on four types of education policies: assimilationist education policies, compensatory education policies, multicultural education policies, and intercultural education policies. The different sets of education policies, Mijares Molina points out, are closely related to distinct models of immigrant integration. Although, as she claims, there is hardly ever an exact correspondence between migratory phases and integration policies, on one hand, and education policies, on the other, the adopted model of integration within a society determines to a large extent the policies aiming at educating and educationally integrating immigrant children.[239]

The first set of education policies, i.e. assimilation education policies, does not take into consideration the cultural and linguistic differences among students. These education policies have been frequently used in all the countries of Northern Europe during the first stage of immigration, which basically ends in 1973, and they still persist in France. Their ultimate goal is assimilation to the dominant culture and language. Thus, children of foreign origin are expected to adopt the language(s) of the host society and, eventually, abandon completely the ones used at their homes. In this context, the term *multiculturalism* refers only to the existing situation, i.e. the presence

---

[238] Mijares Molina refers to the models described in Carbonell i París, Francesc. *Inmigración: diversidad cultural, desigualdad social y educación*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1995

[239] Mijares Molina, pp. 48-49

of people from various countries and cultures within the same society, but it does not make reference to policies necessitated by this situation.[240]

As for compensatory education policies, these policies regard the linguistic and cultural differences among students as deficiencies which need to be compensated for. The perspective in which these policies are rooted is similar to the perspective on which assimilation education policies are based. However, although the two sets of theories seem to share basically the same objective of assimilation, compensatory education policies take one step further. Not only do they aim at assimilating immigrant children to the majority culture but they also consider this majority culture as the only valid one. These education policies are grounded in the "deficit theory", which was developed during the 1960s and based on the idea that school failure is strongly related to social class. According to this theory, school failure of certain students is the result of their own deficient cultural practices which, in turn, are the result of the socioeconomic reality from which they originate. (In other words,) the culture of origin hinders the educational integration and, subsequently, life chances of immigrant students.[241] Therefore, as prescribed by compensatory education policies, elements of minority cultures should be excluded from the curriculum and school life.[242]

The third set of education policies, multicultural education policies, promotes the recognition of linguistic and cultural differences among all students. These policies

---

[240] *Ibid*., pp. 50-51

[241] *Ibid*., p. 52

[242] Mijares Molina refers to Jordán, José Antonio. *La esculea multicultural. Un reto para el profesorado*. Barcelona: Paidós, 1998, p. 29, pp. 52-53

have been largely the result of the changes experienced by countries of immigration. The settlement of immigrants, which more often than not is long-term or permanent, suggests that they be considered as something more than foreign work force. As a result, assimilation and compensatory education policies are frequently substituted by others conforming to the ethnic and cultural pluralism that immigration entails. These new policies allow not only for the emergence of programs specifically targeting immigrants but also for the launching of initiatives promoting diversity.[243]

The terms *multicultural policy* and *multicultural education* appear for the first time in the United States in the 1960s when the political recognition of the cultural characteristics of certain groups was gaining wide support. Multicultural education policies are developed with the goal of providing equal educational opportunities for all students[244] and multicultural education promotes the incorporation of the cultures, beliefs and traditions of a society's minority groups in the schools' curricula. This kind of multicultural education has been applied in Europe since the mid-1970s when immigration began to be viewed as a process of a more permanent nature rather than as a transitory phenomenon. Therefore, efforts have been made to include in the curricula the cultures and languages of students of foreign origins. However, there has been no indication of any intention to transform the power relations existing in the host society.[245]

---

[243] Mijares Molina, p. 54

[244] *Ibid*., pp. 54-56

[245] *Ibid*., p. 58

As for intercultural education policies, the last set of policies to be discussed, they significantly resemble the previous ones. These policies, similarly to the multicultural ones, recognize the linguistic and cultural differences of all students. However, unlike the multicultural ones, they also aim at transforming the unequal power relations existing in schools and society in general. They are based on the idea that social class plays a key role in understanding the school failure of certain students. Variables like gender and ethnicity, particularly when examined in relation to social class, are also considered important in explaining inequality. Thus, intercultural education encompasses not only the introduction of elements of the culture of minority groups in the schools' curricula but also the profound transformation of power relations with the objective of providing all students, regardless of their social status and origin, with the same educational opportunities[246] and, subsequently, life chances.

3.1.3. Immigrant/Voluntary and *Involuntary Minorities*

There is an extensive body of scholarship published in the late 20th that focuses on immigrant education. Scholars from a variety of academic fields have also studied, to varying degrees, immigrants' school experiences with the goal of explaining why certain groups are more successful in school than others despite the barriers they face, such as language and culture, social exclusion, prejudices and, at times, even, more or less overt, discrimination. By studying and comparing adaptation patterns of minority students throughout the world, scholars have provided important insights into why some minority students manage to overcome the various linguistic, cultural, and social

---

[246] *Ibid*., pp. 65-67

barriers in school more easily than others.[247] Many of these scholars have used John Ogbu's differentiation between *immigrant* and *involuntary minorities* as their theoretical framework to examine the differences and similarities in the patterns of adaptation in school exhibited by various minority groups.[248]

After providing a brief overview of existing scholarship that focuses on the academic success of minority groups, John Ogbu points out that scholars have attempted to explain variations in school performance among minority students without giving sufficient attention to the perspectives of the populations studied. He argues these scholars have, instead, examined the behavior of minority groups from the majority's perspective and perceptions of their own reality and the reality of minorities. Thus, according to Ogbu, theories constructed with regard to the variability in the school performance of minority children, which do not take into consideration minority students' points of view and perceptions, cannot explain adequately this variability. In fact, a more adequate explanation of the differences in the academic success of minority students is possible if it takes into consideration the ways, in which minorities perceive, understand and interpret their own social reality, including their schooling.[249]

To this end, Ogbu suggests that the concept of "cultural model" is used. According to him, in the sphere of formal education, the cultural model of every group, whether a majority or minority group, provides members of this particular group with "the

---

[247] Gibson and Ogbu, pp. ix-x

[248] Ogbu, p. 4

[249] *Ibid*., pp. 6-7

framework for interpreting educational events, situations and experiences and to guide behavior in the schooling context and process." Since different cultural models encourage different behaviors, the cultural model of a certain group influences to an extent the academic performance of its members. Therefore, Ogbu argues, earlier studies do not succeed in adequately reflecting the realities they try to explain mainly because they do not incorporate the cultural models of various minorities and the impact they have on the academic performance of the respective minorities. In fact, as some relatively recent comparative studies have demonstrated, the variability in the academic performance of different minority students cannot be explained solely by different types of genetic endowment, cultural environment, cultural and language barriers, and minorities' experiences of discrimination at the hands of majority groups. Rather, the better academic performance of certain minority groups is largely due to "the type of cultural model that guides them, that is, in the type of understanding they have of the workings of the larger society and of their place as minorities in that working order."[250] [251]

Ogbu differentiates two forms of historical forces shaping the cultural models of different minority groups. The first one is the "initial terms of incorporation" into the larger society, in which they currently live. The second one is the "subsequent discriminatory treatment" of members of the majority group. With regard to the initial terms of incorporation, Ogbu distinguished between minority groups that have been

---

[250] *Ibid*., pp. 7-8

[251] Ogbu further claims that, within a certain minority group, there are individual differences with regard to academic performance which are mainly attributable to differences in the impact of the cultural model. See Ogbu, p. 8.

incorporated voluntarily and those that have been integrated involuntarily. Those who have been incorporated voluntarily, according to Ogbu, are immigrants who have moved to their host societies with the belief that the move would lead to a higher standard of living, better socioeconomic opportunities and/or more political freedom for them. As a result, their initial expectations continue to affect the way in which they perceive and respond to attitudes and treatment by members of the majority group and their institutions. Those, on the other hand, who Ogbu refers to as "involuntary minorities" are "people who were brought into their present society through slavery, conquest or colonization" and who "perceive the social, political and economic barriers against them as part of their undeserved oppression."[252]

As for the "subsequent discriminatory treatment," both immigrant and involuntary minorities, Ogbu argues, are subjected to prejudice and discrimination. They may face political and social barriers; they may be given low-wage jobs and inferior education; and, they may be also excluded from the larger society. When confronted with such problems, however, immigrant and involuntary minorities interpret them in different ways. Immigrants interpret the political, economic and social obstacles as, more or less, temporary problems that can be overcome in the course of time through hard work and/or education. They often tend to attribute their exclusion from high-wage and high-skilled jobs to the fact that they are foreigners who do not speak well the language of the receiving country and/or that they were educated somewhere else.[253]

---

[252] Ogbu, pp. 8-9

[253] *Ibid*., pp. 9-11

Furthermore, immigrant minorities, Ogbu claims, develop survival strategies which help them deal with some of the problems. Among these survival strategies is the option they have of returning to their home country or emigrating to another one. Also, they tend to explore opportunities generally unappealing to other members of the host society. According to Ogbu, what distinguishes immigrants and helps them to adapt is the degree of trust they have toward the majority group and its institutions, including schools. Thus, he says, they acknowledge that they are "strangers in a foreign land and have no choice but to tolerate prejudice and discrimination as a price worth paying in order to achieve the goals of their emigration."[254]

Unlike immigrant minorities, involuntary minorities interpret the political, economic and social barriers quite differently. In general, they do not attribute their low-wage jobs to the fact that they are foreigners but, rather, compare their own status with that of members of the majority group. As a result, they usually come to the conclusion that "they are worse off than they ought to be for no other reason than that they belong to a subordinate and disparaged minority group." Furthermore, they do not regard their situation as temporary but, instead, they perceive the discrimination against them as "permanent and institutionalized." They also do not believe that society's rules for socioeconomic advancement work for them. Thus, they do not view linguistic and cultural differences in school and society at large as obstacles they need to overcome. Rather, they regard these differences as "symbols of identity" they have to preserve and they generally develop an oppositional identity.[255]

---

[254] *Ibid*., pp. 12-13

Involuntary minorities, in Ogbu's view, believe that they cannot be treated like members of the majority regardless of their individual skills, abilities, educational attainment, socioeconomic status, place of origin and/or residence. Unlike immigrants, they do not trust the dominant group and its institutions, including schools. Also, they do not find any justification for the prejudice and/or discrimination they are subjected to in school and society other than the fact that they are a subordinate and disparaged minority group.[256] With regard to schooling, involuntary minorities, Ogbu argues, involuntary minorities, compared to immigrants, have "persistently higher rates of school failure." The reasons for this are multiple, including: less community and family pressure to succeed in school; peer pressure promoting "anti-academic" success; perceived institutionalized discrimination; non-academic activities regarded as a way to move up along the social ladder.[257]

3.2. Empirical Works

3.2.1. 1. Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut's Legacies: The Story of Immigrant Second Generation (2001)

Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut's book, *Legacies: The Story of Immigrant Second Generation*, provides an insight into the life, experiences, problems and dilemmas of the immigrant population in the United States and, in particular, of second-generation immigrants. This book is the result of an extensive study carried out

---

[255] *Ibid*., pp. 13-16

[256] *Ibid*., p. 16

[257] *Ibid*., pp. 22-25

for a period of twelve years and made possible with the contribution of a number of researchers, interviewers, school principals and teachers, administrators, data analysts, and research assistants. This study, which is primarily based on a series of surveys with immigrants and their children conducted between 1992 and 1996 in San Diego and Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, offers a broad overview of the diverse patterns of adaptation of various immigrant groups in the U.S. which are the result of different and, often, interacting factors.

Through examining the socio-political context, community influence, family composition, educational attainment and socioeconomic status of immigrant parents, and linguistic competence, Portes and Rumbaut accomplish two very important things. First, they reveal the numerous challenges that immigrants and their children face in the process of adaptation as well as they show the divergent paths that second-generation immigrants follow as a result of the interplay of a variety of factors. Second, they demonstrate that immigrants cannot and should not be viewed as a monolithic group. The findings of Portes and Rumbaut's study, which can be applied to any society with large immigrant populations, imply that immigrants' diversity (based on ethnicity, race, class, religion, language competency, educational attainment, and professional qualifications) should be taken into consideration in any policy-making process that directly or indirectly affects them, their fates and life chances.

This study is an invaluable source not only because of the level of its extensiveness and its comparative recency but also because of the importance and broad applicability of its findings as well as its richness in terms of ideas developed,

methods utilized, concepts and theories employed. The dramatically different experiences of immigrant children and parents reflected in the twelve real-life stories in the very first chapter closely resemble the situation in Spain. A parallel could be drawn between, on one hand, the experiences of the Cuban immigrants compared to those of the Mexican ones and, on the other hand, the experiences of non-Muslim/Arab (possibly Latin American) immigrants to those of Moroccan immigrants in Spain. As one of the stories reveals, the daughter of a family of Cuban immigrants has many opportunities to advance socially and economically primarily because of her "secure environment," i.e. many of her teachers and the majority of her peers are also Cuban American.[258] As another story shows, the son of another Cuban family, who has the privilege of attending a private bilingual school where Cuban history and geography are taught and where he is surrounded by other Cuban Americans, also has a significant chance for socioeconomic advancement.[259]

Among the success stories is the one of a Vietnamese female student. The major factors contributing to her excellent academic performance are: the family background, in particular the educational attainments of her parents and brothers, and the school and university environment. Not only her family but also many of her Asian peers hold education in high esteem and are motivated to succeed in the challenging fields they generally pursue, i.e. engineering, science, and pre-med. While still in high school, she would study together and compete with a Korean girl, who was also

[258] Portes and Rumbaut, pp. 2-3

[259] *Ibid*., pp. 7-8

pressured by her parents.[260] Moreover, for years, the Republic of Korea has been producing high-performing students. As the most recent (2003) TIMSS results show, the country is ranked second (following Singapore) with regard to its eighth-grade students' scores in math. The countries third, fourth, and fifth are, respectively, Hong Kong, Chinese Taipei and Japan.[261] As far as its eighth-graders' science scores are concerned, the Republic of Korea is ranked third, following Singapore and Chinese Taipei and preceding Hong Kong.[262] Thus, being immersed in such high-achieving learning environments created by her Asian (including Vietnamese) peers seems to be crucial in determining the Vietnamese girl's academic path.

These several success stories and the issues they raise are closely related to my research. Moreover, they provide empirical evidence supporting my main hypothesis regarding Moroccan children in Spanish schools. These stories reveal some of the most influential factors affecting the academic performance and, subsequently, the life chances of second-generation immigrant children, such as the school environment and the school curriculum (i.e., courses taught, subject matter, textbooks and other materials used). Based on these stories, it seems that academic performance of immigrants is largely influenced by the type of school, student body composition, teaching staff, subjects taught, textbooks and other course materials. Thus, second-generation immigrants tend to perform much better academically when they go to schools which are bilingual; and/or where, at least, some of the teachers have the same

---

[260] *Ibid*., pp. 9-10

[261] *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) 2003: Mathematics*

[262] *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) 2003: Science*

ethnic and cultural origins; and/or when they are surrounded by high-achieving peers from the same ethnic/cultural group; and/or when they study subjects related to their home country's history, culture, language, etc.

Of course, these are not the only factors that affect the academic performance of immigrant children. Immigrant parents' educational attainment[263] and attitudes towards schooling, family's socioeconomic status, societal perceptions and attitudes towards (particular) immigrant groups, immigration policies of host countries, and socio-cultural characteristics of sending countries – they all come into play. While education and education policy in host countries have almost no control over these factors, they do have the capacity to change, to varying degrees, school environments and modify school curricula in numerous ways. Since many disadvantaged immigrant groups in various countries see education as their only way to a higher quality of life, it is important that educational institutions become better adapted to meet their needs. Moroccans in Spain represent an example of such immigrant group. The majority of them have uneducated or poorly educated parents, belong to lower social classes, are largely marginalized[264] and, more often than not, face discrimination. Moreover, unlike many second-generation Asian students in the U.S. who come from countries with long histories of high academic achievement, Moroccan children do not have this

[263] However, as the story of a single Cuban mother shows, even an immigrant woman "with next to no human capital" (i.e. with no English and little education) can help her child overcome difficulties at school, significantly improve her academic performance and increase life chances, as long as she has the support of the government and that of her community (whose resources are anything but limited). Portes and Rumbaut, pp. 91-94

[264] Their marginalization is the result of various factors, such as: societal perceptions of and attitudes regarding Islam/Muslims/Arabs, recent world events (e.g., 9/11 and the Madrid bombings), and socio-cultural aspects of the sending country (e.g., Morocco's economy, poverty rates, illiteracy rates, women's rights).

advantage. As a matter of fact, according to the 2003 TIMSS results, the scores of Moroccan fourth- and eighth-graders in math and science appear at the bottom of the ranking charts.[265]

Despite the different context of Portes and Rumbaut's study, some of the issues raised, trends outlined, and immigrant experiences described can be applied to my research. In addition, the selection criteria for their research sites are similar to mine, i.e. they choose two of the areas that have been affected most by recent immigration.[266] As for the methods used by Portes and Rumbaut, some of them can serve as model in developing my own research strategies. For instance, like them, I also intend to conduct a comparative study at several schools which would differ significantly from one another in terms of student body composition. Certain concepts employed by the authors are applicable to the Moroccan student population I intend to study. For example, the authors introduce the notion of 1.5 generation to refer to those people who were born abroad but brought at an early age to the host country,[267] which, I believe is the case with many Moroccan children currently enrolled in Spanish schools. However, unlike Portes and Rumbaut, I might not have to distinguish between different generations of Moroccan immigrants but, rather, look at the Moroccan student group as a whole, unless the time of their arrival and the duration of their schooling in Spain prove to be statistically significant.

---

[265] See *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) 2003: Mathematics* and *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) 2003: Science*.

[266] Portes and Rumbaut, p. 23

[267] *Ibid*., p. 24

One of the most important claims Portes and Rumbaut make, which is applicable to immigrant communities in general, is that the way they are received in their host country profoundly affects their experiences and life chances. Thus, very few immigrant groups can hope to follow the assimilation path of the European immigrants who arrived in the U.S. in the early 20th century. Within a few decades they managed to completely assimilate and, for them, ethnicity became simply a matter of choice. A different path has been taken by other immigrant groups (e.g., certain Asian immigrants) who, due to their own communities' networks and resources, manage to advance economically and socially. However, in general, they do not become assimilated; it is namely their ethnicity what helps them climb the social ladder. A third path, quite different from the two described above, has been followed by many immigrants for whom ethnicity is neither a matter of choice nor a source of socioeconomic progress. Instead, ethnicity for them is "a mark of subordination."[268]

It seems that the path that has been taken and that will continue to be taken by the majority of Spain's Moroccan immigrants is the third one. This conviction of mine is further reinforced by the sociological principle mentioned by Portes and Rumbaut, according to which the more similar a minority is to society's mainstream in terms of physical characteristics, language, religion and class background, the more favorably this minority is received and the more rapidly it is integrated. [269] Unlike early 20th century European immigrants (e.g., Irish, Italian, and Polish) whose phenotypical similarity with the mainstream American population managed to "assert itself" over

[268] *Ibid*., p. 45

[269] *Ibid*., p. 47

time, neither certain ethnic and racial immigrants in the U.S. nor Moroccans in Spain are likely to "reduce their ethnicity to the level of a voluntary decision."[270]

Namely these differences and the practice of discrimination based on them are the main obstacles in the immigrants' path to social mobility and integration and the major factors affecting their children's perceptions, attitudes, academic performance and overall well-being.[271] As Portes and Rumbaut point out, it does not matter how ambitious and motivates immigrants are since their future prospects will continue to be dim as long as government policies are unfavorable, natives discriminate against them, and their own community does not have the resources to help them economically and socially.[272] Studies of Mexican and Haitian parents further demonstrate that, regardless of how educated certain immigrants are, their chance for socioeconomic advancement remain considerably limited by the social environment within which their community is incorporated.[273] Even for some immigrants who have college degrees, education does not pay or its returns are simply negligible.[274]

Another two important issues raised by Portes and Rumbaut that need to be taken into consideration in studying disadvantage immigrant minorities are the "solidarity" and the "limited bilingualism" phenomena. As the authors argue, the economic and social marginalization of some immigrants often leads to the emergence of a certain

---

[270] *Ibid*., p. 55

[271] *Ibid*., pp. 55-56

[272] *Ibid*., p. 49

[273] *Ibid*., p. 80

[274] *Ibid*., p. 84

level of solidarity among the members of the community based on the belief that the plight of this same community is due to discrimination on part of the native population and its institutions. Based on studies of Mexican-origin students, it seems that this kind of solidarity "translates into a denigration of schools and their staffs as instruments of racial oppression and of education itself as incapable of bettering their situation."[275] As for the "limited bilingualism," Portes and Rumbaut argue that the harsh experiences of some immigrant children in the host country often result in lowered self-esteem, alienation and loss of fluency in the native language. This, accompanied by imperfect acquisition of the local language, leads to limited bilingualism. Thus, many 1.5- and second-generation immigrants become limited bilinguals, i.e. they have lost fluency in their native language but have not yet become proficient in the local language.[276]

Closely related to the concept of limited bilingualism and equally relevant to my research is the notion of "fluent bilingualism." Not only is possession of two languages "associated with higher goals for the future and better personality adjustment," the authors point out, but results also show that fluent bilinguals are the ones that are least embarrassed by their parents and that have the healthiest relationships with them. On the other hand, rapid loss of the native language unaccompanied by fluency in the local language frequently leads to low self-esteem and shame at one's parents' cultural background.[277] Moreover, when children start

---

[275] *Ibid*., p. 60

[276] *Ibid*., pp. 130-131

losing fluency in their native language, which is a significant part of their identity and culture, while their parents remain deeply immersed in their own language culture and language, the result is often what Portes and Rumbaut call "dissonant acculturation." This term refers to the miscommunication or lack of communication between the generations frequently followed by loss of parental control and authority.[278]

The authors' discussion of some of the reasons for and ways of preventing this dissonant acculturation is directly related to my thesis, particularly Portes and Rumbaut' claim that limited bilingualism and dissonant acculturation are, to an extent, the outcome of public schools to assist immigrants in preserving their native languages. Rather than providing "remedial training geared toward mainstreaming immigrant students as soon as possible," the authors suggest, schools should offer bilingual education with the dual goal of teaching the local language(s) to foreign children so that they can more easily join regular classes and creating (or preserving) fluency in second (third, etc.) languages. According to them, true bilingual education, which comprises the teaching of various subjects in a foreign language, should start as early as possible. In addition, it can be also made available to native children so that they can acquire another valuable skill.[279]

All the concepts and issues from Portes and Rumbaut's study discussed above are relevant to my study, some of them more than others. This extensive study, which is conducted by a team of researchers, translators, data-collectors, analysts,

---

[277] *Ibid*., p. 134

[278] *Ibid*., p. 144

[279] *Ibid*., pp. 145-146

administrators and assistants over a 12-year period, provides an overview of various immigrant groups and their experiences in the U.S. Primarily because of the specific context in which it is set and its scope, some aspects of the study are less relevant to my research but not necessarily less helpful. Thus, for example, the contexts (the U.S. vs. Spain) are quite different, particularly with regard to the respective countries' histories of immigration, immigration policies, societies' composition and societal attitudes. Also, the number of factors examined by Portes and Rumbaut which affect immigrants and their children's experiences is much bigger than the factors to be examined in my study. In their study, among other things, they focus on various aspects and factors such as family background, modes of adaptation, acculturation and incorporation, ethnic self-identification, bilingualism, immigrant communities and social networks while my research project primarily examines the school environment and the school curriculum. However, even though some themes and issues discussed in the book are not closely related to my research, the study as a whole provides an important insight into the complex nature of immigrant-related research and the various dimensions such kind of research needs to take into consideration.

As a matter of fact, as scholars like Portes and Rumbaut argue, the more different the immigrants from the majority (racially, ethnically, culturally, etc.), the more difficult their integration and socioeconomic advancement in their host society. Often, the horizontal mobility of such minorities from agricultural to unskilled and/or semi-skilled employment in urban centers is viewed as upward mobility. However, the horizontal mobility of these people, John Neelsen claims, does not necessarily involve any improvement with regard to their relative socioeconomic status. On the contrary,

in the context of "general upgrading of the individual ranks of the total status ladder," many voluntary and involuntary minorities continue to constitute the lowest strata of the society to which they belong. Thus, according to Neelsen, it is only those cases of mobility reducing the social distance between different groups or strata that are decisive.[280]

It seems that Portes and Rumbaut's argument is valid for, at least, most cases of immigrants' education and social mobility. The more an immigrant group differs from its host society, the harder it is for this group to succeed academically and, subsequently, socioeconomically. Therefore, very few immigrant communities can hope to follow in the footsteps of the European immigrants who came to the U.S. in the early 20th century. Whereas those European immigrants managed to completely integrate into their host society, many immigrants (like Mexicans in the U.S.) have neither been well incorporated in the receiving country's educational institutions nor have they received the kind of education that would facilitate their socioeconomic advancement. The main reasons for this are factors discussed both in this and other papers: family background (e.g., parents' education, occupation, parents' income and wealth), state policies (e.g., immigration laws and social policies), societal attitudes (e.g., prejudices, discrimination, racism, xenophobia, etc.), as well as personal characteristics (e.g. cognitive skills and motivation) and luck (see Jencks, 1972).

---

[280] Neelsen, p. 130

3.2.2. Christine Inglis and Lenore Manderson (1991): Turkish Immigrant Children in Australia

A particularly interesting study among the more recent comparative ones mentioned by Ogbu is the study of Turkish immigrants in Australia. Among other things, it elaborates on the way Australian schools have responded to the influx of immigrant children, especially Turkish children. As this case study demonstrates, the Australian education system, in its attempts to adapt to the needs of Turkish immigrant children, has gone through several stages, from an initial lack of response to a later establishment of special programs. This lack of response was a consequence of the then-prevalent ideological and political stance, according to which immigrants had to assimilate into the mainstream Anglo-Australian culture. Thus, it was generally agreed upon that society's institutions (including schools) should not make any special provisions for immigrants. However, by the late 1960s, the situation had begun to change due to increasing public awareness of the challenges that immigrant students and their teachers face.[281]

As a result, by the mid-1970s, the Australian education system had started to adjust to the diversity of students coming from various ethnic backgrounds by adopting policies of multicultural education. The programs sponsored under these policies incorporated curriculum changes in addition to the teaching of remedial English. The two main goals that these curriculum changes had are particularly relevant to my research project. The first objective was "to make all Australian children aware of, and receptive to, the cultural diversity which existed in Australia." The second aim was to provide immigrant children from specific backgrounds with

[281] Inglis and Manderson, pp. 98-99

the opportunity "to study the language, history and culture of their own heritage." Since most Turks in Australia live in areas with relatively high concentrations of Turkish immigrants, many children have attended schools that by the early 1980s were either offering Turkish language programs or had Turkish ethnic assistants helping the teachers at those schools.[282]

These changes in the organization and curriculum of schools provided more support for Turkish immigrant children, particularly for those who attended educational institutions with a fairly large Turkish student body. Such schools are usually more likely to have Turkish-speaking assistants who can establish contacts with Turkish parents and inform them about the schools' functions and activities and, thus, reduce the probability for conflicts between immigrant parents and schools. Such schools are also more likely to have bilingual programs (in English and Turkish), through which they help Turkish students both maintain their mother tongue and develop their English skills "without hindering [their] cognitive development, as can occur with a totally monolingual approach to English language teaching."[283]

3.2.3. John M. Barrington (1991): Maori Children in New Zealand

Another similar case, although observed in a completely different context, is related to the experience of Maori children in New Zealand and the disparities with regard to school performance that exist between them and European children in the country. Although Maoris are not immigrants but rather a minority group, they face

---

[282] *Ibid*., p. 99

[283] *Ibid*., pp. 124-125

many of the challenges that many immigrant groups, including North Africans in Europe, have encountered. Not only have stereotyped attitudes about Maoris persisted in New Zealand but many members of this minority group have been subject to discrimination. In addition, statistics related to unemployment rates, health, income and education indicate that Maoris, who constitute 9% of the population of the country, have been considerably disadvantaged in comparison to Europeans.[284] However, the greater recognition of Maori languages and their importance reflected in curricular changes at New Zealand schools has had a quite positive effect on Maori children's achievement and self-perception. As a result of these modifications in curriculum, officially bilingual schools have been established as well as the number of primary schools with bilingual classes has immensely increased.[285]

In addition, Maori *marae*, i.e. meeting grounds, have become an essential part of the country's education system. In fact, over the years, the Education Department of New Zealand has arranged such *marae* courses, at which a good deal of principals, teachers, counselors and school inspectors have often had their first immediate exposure to Maori culture. During those special courses, school teaching and administrative staff members have considered ways in which aspects of Maori culture can be incorporated into school curriculum in order to improve school climate for minority children. One of the approaches has been to create *whanaus*, which are basically small "schools within schools", with the goal of providing both European and Maori students with more opportunities for interaction. Now, Maori language and

---

[284] Barrington, pp. 309-313

[285] *Ibid*., p. 321

culture classes are offered in every teachers' training college and multicultural courses are mandatory for all primary school teacher trainees. The Department of Maori Affairs has also launched a program, the *Tu Tangata* or "stand tall" program, whose objective is to promote ethnic pride through school visits by distinguished Maoris and through visits to rural *maraes* during which Maori children from urban areas can familiarize themselves with traditional Maori values and customs.[286]

3.2.4. Deyan Kolev (2004): Roma Children in Bulgaria

Bulgaria's Roma population, which constitutes approximately 10% of the country's whole population, faces a number of social problems, including in the sphere of education. Various projects targeting these problems have been initiated over the last couple of decades. In general, such projects are launched by non-governmental organizations and sometimes supported, but only partially, by the government. Thus, due to their own limitations as NGO initiatives as well as the limited support on part of the government, these projects have not been able to affect profoundly the education system. However, based on the findings of Deyan Kolev's study, some initiatives, like "Roma Folklore in the Bulgarian School," have the potential to do so. This particular project has proved to be successful in several ways: it has secured the "committed involvement" of local authorities in solving the educational problems Roma children face; it has provoked significant changes in local educational institutions; it has laid the foundation for the future improvement of the

---

[286] *Ibid.*, pp. 321-322

education situation for Roma children in general; and, it has contributed to the overall emancipation and community building of the Roma population in Bulgaria.[287]

As a result of the initiative, which was launched in 2002 with the support of the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science and the Open Society Foundation-Sofia, Roma folklore was introduced as an optional class at 14 primary schools in the county of Veliko Tarnovo (central Bulgaria). The new course, which was taught to more than 500 students of both Roma and non-Roma origin, had the objective of presenting Roma folklore and culture in the context of the dominant Bulgarian folklore and culture as well as those of other ethnic groups living in the country. The two textbooks used in the course incorporate the most important elements of Roma folklore, including fairy tales, songs, wedding customs, holidays and festivals. A section about Roma history was also included. In addition, teachers of literature, history and music at those 14 schools were introduced to Roma culture, folklore and history, as well as they were trained to work with Roma children in a multiethnic/multicultural environment.[288]

During the 2002/2003 school year, Roma folklore was taught as an optional course twice a week. As part of this course, students organized a variety of events (including exhibitions, concerts, celebrations, etc.) in order to popularize the newly acquired knowledge and skills. After the end of the school year, the Ministry of Education and Science and the Open Society Foundation –Sofia evaluated the project and concluded that the results were excellent. Thus, they decided to continue funding the project.

---

[287] Kolev

[288] *Ibid.*

Moreover, after successful negotiations with the local authorities of nine municipalities in central and northeastern Bulgaria, the project was implemented in 32 schools and involved more than 1,000 students.[289]

The evaluation of this project revealed that it had a significant impact on the schools at which it had been implemented as well as on the main stakeholders such as the Roma community and local authorities. This evaluation was based on written analyses by Roma folklore teachers and school principals, records of students' grades and attendance, students' participation in events aimed at popularizing Roma folklore and parents' engagement. Even in the very beginning of the project (September 2002) the number of students who enrolled and attended Roma folklore classes (over 550 students) considerably exceeded not only the minimum required number of students for these classes (360) but also the expected number of students to enroll in the classes (about 450).[290]

In general, the Roma folklore classes were mixed, with almost half of the students (46%) being of ethnic Bulgarian or Turkish origin. The ethnic composition was in keeping with the main goal of the initiative, i.e. to help non-Roma children overcome their negative perceptions of and prejudices towards Roma children. As for student engagement, it was reported that in 13 out of the first 14 schools the Roma folklore classes had the highest rate of attendance of all the classes. According to school records, attendance was higher on days when Roma folklore classes were held as well as none of the students attending these classes dropped out of school during the

---

[289] *Ibid.*

[290] *Ibid.*

2002/2003 school year. In addition, in some schools, children who had dropped out of school participated in events organized by students in the Roma folklore classes.[291]

Most importantly, based on the results of questionnaires conducted at the beginning and at the end of the school year, noticeably higher levels of mutual respect, ethnic and religious tolerance were recorded at the end of the academic year. Moreover, according to official school documentation, students attending Roma folklore classes improved their academic performance in all subjects. Teachers and principals' explanation of students' higher grades was that student activity and self-confidence were stimulated by the Roma folklore classes. Although it was hard to measure parent engagement mainly because of the lack of school records, seven schools reported that they regularly engaged parents, particularly of Roma origin, in school activities. In three of these schools, parents even participated in the classes by telling fairy-tales, playing music, and demonstrating customs and rituals. In the other four schools, parents of both Roma and non-Roma origin took part in the preparation of the extracurricular activities related to Roma culture.[292]

Not surprisingly, the implementation of the project was met by a number of challenges and obstacles. A major impediment was the conservative nature of the Bulgarian education system with regard to multicultural/multiethnic education. Until 2002, no lessons about the history and culture of Bulgaria's minorities were

---

[291] *Ibid.*

[292] *Ibid.*

incorporated into the school curriculum.[293] Another significant obstacle was the widespread prejudice among educators that Roma children were incapable of following "the standard education process." The negative attitudes of some school principals towards Roma people and multiculturalism proved to be another major impediment to the implementation process.[294]

However, despite these difficulties, the course was successfully introduced in the school curriculum. Moreover, as Kolev's study reveals, the project has had a very positive impact on students' academic performance, attendance and participation. It has also managed to improve the self-perception of Roma students as well as solidarity and friendship among all students at the schools. Within the larger social context, the initiative has contributed to the higher levels of mutual respect and ethnic tolerance among ethnic Bulgarians and Roma people and had important implications for Roma emancipation, community building, and human rights in general.[295]

3.2.5. John N, Hawkins (1983) and Nobuo K. Shimahara (1991): Burakumin Children in Japan

Another case related to the experience of a minority group, which is a bit different from the ones described above, is the one presented by the Burakumin community, a Japanese minority group which has managed to drastically improve its educational attainment and, subsequently, social mobility. This improvement is quite remarkable

---

[293] Kolev notes that, after 1992, "mother tongue" was introduced as a subject in the curriculum with the goal of allowing minorities to be schooled in their respective languages. However, whereas Turkish language courses were taught systematically, Roma language courses were limited in number and lasted for a short period of time. Furthermore, these courses were attended only by minority students.

[294] *Ibid.*

[295] *Ibid.*

since Japanese culture, in general, puts emphasis on homogeneity and uniformity while resisting cultural pluralism.[296] The present-day Burakumin are direct descendants of pariahs called Eta-Hinin (Eta literally means "defilement abundant" and Hinin means "nonhuman"), which occupied the lowest stratum in the social hierarchy during the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868). During that period, the social structure was rigidified and people's status, residence and occupation were ascribed and declared as permanent and unchangeable. In that society, the Eta-Hinin's typical occupations included leather work, bamboo craft, peddling, gardening, itinerant entertainment and unskilled labor, such as removing sewage and animal slaughter. In addition, these people were obliged to wear specific clothing and slippers, to evade regular hair styles, to keep away from commoner's houses, and to stay in their own shacks at night.[297]

Thus, for centuries, the Burakumin's ghetto life was characterized by abject poverty, ramshackle and segregated housing, discrimination in employment and marriage.[298] The situation did not change significantly for members of this minority group even during the Meiji Period (1868-1913), when universal education was established and schooling became "a central institutionalized mechanism for promoting the social mobility of individuals" as well as "a powerful sorting system that allocated people to differential work roles in society."[299] The Burakumin, however, received only a minimum amount of schooling and hardly experienced any

---

[296] Shimahara, p. 327

[297] *Ibid*., p. 330

[298] *Ibid*., p. 333

[299] *Ibid*., p. 339

upward social mobility. Their children remained notorious for their very low academic performance, high dropout rates, truancy, and even delinquency. In general, the Burakumin continued to take low-wage jobs in the shoe and textile industry, automobile and machine repair factories, ironworks, and food stores. As a result, they also continued to occupy the lowest rungs of the social ladder.[300]

However, in order to remedy what has been seen as lack of educational opportunity and discrimination, Burakumin organizations like the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) and the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP) have directed a number of general and specific demands to education and government authorities.[301] The JSP group has claimed that it is every school's responsibility to provide a curriculum designed to improve the self-perception of Burakumin children. As a result, courses have been created, textbooks compiled, and teachers trained to teach such courses. These changes are part of the long-term goal of Burakumin organizations which aim at infiltrating the schools' curricula with Burakumin-related content. Another major objective of groups like JCP and JSP has been to provide courses for the population in general to increase their awareness regarding discrimination and, thus, foster a healthier image of Burakumin people and improve their career opportunities.[302]

In response to Burakumin organizations' insistence on school reforms, the Japanese government introduced policies suggesting that the entire curriculum be revised to ensure compliance with the organizations' demands and remove remnants

---

[300] *Ibid*., pp. 340-341

[301] Hawkins, p. 205

[302] *Ibid*., p. 215-218

of discrimination.[303] This, as Hawkins points out, was an unprecedented achievement for Burakumin people because they succeeded not only in "wresting from a reluctant Japanese educational system a variety of educational reforms" but also in "directing national attention to their plight."[304] Although no findings are reported regarding the direct impact of the curricular changes described above on the self-perception, academic performance and/or socioeconomic advancement of Burakumin children, the case study presents another example of curricular changes embracing the concept of integration as a two-way process and incorporating elements of minority culture. The fact that the plan regarding these education reforms, which was announced in 1969, was extended by the 85th National Diet to March 31, 1982, is indicative not only of the long-term nature of the process but also of its efficacy, particularly with the discussion of possible further extension.[305]

3.2.6. Flip Lindo (2000): Iberian and Turkish Children in the Netherlands

Another interesting and relevant study is the one carried out by Flip Lindo on Iberian and Turkish immigrant children in the Netherlands. The study, which was conducted from 1989 to 1993, focuses on the differences in the academic performance of the two groups. Whereas Portuguese and Spanish students demonstrated high academic achievement, the majority of Turkish children performed quite poorly.[306] Although I question the validity of some of Lindo's conclusions and do not agree with

[303] *Ibid*., p. 224

[304] *Ibid*., p. 226

[305] *Ibid.*, p. 225

[306] Lindo, p. 207

some of his assertions,[307] he also, more or less straightforwardly,[308] suggests that the vast differences in the school performance of second-generation Iberian and Turkish immigrants can be attributed to the different degrees to which these two communities have become integrated into the host society.[309]

---

[307] For example, he says: "[...] it is possible that Turkish young people, more than their Iberian peers, suffer from negative stereotyping in Dutch society. But we are dealing here with education. Research into how the expectations and behavior of teaching staff may affect the educational careers of migrant children (the large majority of whom are Moroccan or Turkish) has produced contradictory findings." (p. 211) It seems that Lindo regards negative stereotyping as something that exists outside of the school environment and, thus, as something that cannot account for the discrepancies in the academic performance of different ethnic minorities.

[308] In an attempt to demonstrate that culture is a crucial factor in determining immigrant children's academic performance, Lindo elaborates on the fact that Iberian mothers, compared to Turkish mothers, are more likely to establish contacts with Dutch neighbors and coworkers and, thus, be better informed about the Dutch education system and, as a result, have their children attend (more often than not) predominantly ethnic Dutch schools. pp. 213-213

[309] Lindo, pp. 213-214

CHAPTER 4

METHODS

Some of the data for this study is drawn from a large range of secondary sources, including school records, documents gathered from the Department of Education of Catalonia and the Barcelona Consortium of Education, and published and unpublished works by scholars working in Spain. In addition, primary data were obtained through surveys conducted among students and teachers at nine schools in the Ciutat Vella of Barcelona.

4.1. Why the Survey?

There is a variety of research methods, ranging from the ones maintaining complete control of the research situation to the ones using entirely natural situations.[310] These research methods are generally divided into two broad categories, i.e. quantitative and qualitative, but the borderline between the two categories has not been strictly determined. In addition, rather than falling into a certain category, many of the methods, depending on their nature, are located at different points along the quantitative-qualitative continuum. Also, certain methods (for example, surveys) can combine quantitative and qualitative characteristics leading to their different categorization by different scholars.[311]

---

[310] Krathwohl, p. 29

[311] For example, a survey with a bigger number of open-ended questions (which often require coding) resembles qualitative methods much more than a survey composed primarily of closed-ended questions.

In fact, in social sciences, there is a tradition of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. This research strategy, which is referred to as "triangulation," is based on the notion that qualitative and quantitative methods are complementary rather than incompatible.[312] The triangulation approach has been used widely in social sciences. Its proponents provide a few compelling reasons to mix quantitative and qualitative methods. First, they claim, data generally have both objective and subjective components, i.e. numbers can be assigned to all qualitative data while any number in a quantitative study is interpreted subjectively. Second, employing different methods in answering the same research question allows scientists to cross-validate findings. Third, combining quantitative and qualitative methods cancels out, to a degree, their respective weaknesses. Thus, for example, whereas quantitative research, which is deemed very reliable, is frequently criticized for the validity of its results, qualitative research, which has good validity, often encounters difficulties with regard to repeatability and generality.[313]

Furthermore, as some of the multi-method approach supporters point out, the world is neither inherently quantitative nor intrinsically qualitative. It is, they argue, the act of representation through numbers or non-numeric symbols (such as words) that make the scientific undertaking (primarily) quantitative or qualitative. Not only do they favor combining quantitative and qualitative methods but they also claim that it is possible to mix both quantitative and qualitative data and data analyses. Thus,

---

[312] Denzin, Norman K. *The Research Act*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978, pp. 291, 302. Cited in Jick, p. 602

[313] AbuSabha and Woelfel, p. 569

according to them, quantitative data can be analyzed through either quantitative or qualitative data analysis techniques, as can qualitative data.[314]

Of course, the triangulation strategy, like any other research method, has its shortcomings and limitations. For example, when employing triangulation, one has to keep in mind that replication is an extremely difficult, almost impossible task. Also, in triangulation, each method should be represented in a significant way. That is, if some of the methods become "mere window dressing" for the others, then the research design is flawed or inadequate. Thus, when one method is more appropriate or stronger than the others, this has to be made explicit and justified.[315] Actually, this was going to be the case with this research study, in which the main method (the survey) was to be complemented by curriculum materials analysis, direct observation, short semi-structured interviews, and documentation review. However, because of limitations in terms of time and financial resources, only one main research method had to be selected. This method is the survey. As a matter of fact, the kind of survey used in this study is based on the "mixed-methods" approach which, as already discussed, allows more and different kinds of data to be gathered and analyzed. Therefore, the survey designed for the purposes of this research project incorporates both closed-ended questions (which lend themselves to quantitative analysis) and open-ended questions (which lend themselves to qualitative analysis).[316]

---

[314] Yoshikawa *et al*., p. 345

[315] Jick, pp. 609-610

[316] Fraenkel, p. 16

There are a few reasons behind the choice of these particular data collecting method over others. First, this is one of the most efficient research methods, i.e. data can be gathered from a relatively large number of participants over a relatively short period of time. Second, it allows for a considerable number of questions to be asked and these questions can take different forms (e.g., open-ended, close-ended, or Likert scale questions). Third, uniformity makes it easier for generalizations and comparisons to be made, and conclusions to be drawn.[317] Fourth, the (comparative) anonymity of the surveys, as well as the researcher's absence during the time the surveys are distributed and completed, ensures a (considerably) high level of unbiasedness in participants' responses. In addition, the survey is a relatively inexpensive method of data collection.[318]

4.2. The Process

As stated earlier, this study has the goal of exploring the ways in which and the extent to which school environment and curriculum facilitate the integration and subsequent life chances of Moroccan immigrant children in Spanish schools. In order to achieve this objective, I intended to gather data in the course of one year in several Spanish cities located in different autonomous communities. However, due to primarily financial limitations, I had to confine my study to the city of Barcelona, which is the capital city of Catalonia, one of the seventeen autonomous communities

---

[317] See "Advantages and Disadvantages of the Survey Method."

[318] As for the disadvantages and limitations of the survey as a research method, they are discussed in Chapter 6.

of Spain. Rather than over the course of a whole year, as initially planned, I had to conduct my dissertation research for a period of four months – from February 2 until June 1, 2009.

Prior to my trip to Barcelona, upon the recommendation of my committee chair Professor Assie-Lumumba, I had established a contact with Professor Josep Martí i Perez at the Instituto Milá i Fontanals, which is part of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC). During my four-month stay in Barcelona, Prof. Martí hosted me at the institute and assisted me in various ways, from helping me with contacting schools and government representatives to proofreading the surveys I designed in February 2009. As a visiting scholar at the Instituto Milá I Fontanals, I was provided with access to the institute's library and was able to use its inter-library services to obtain materials from the other branches of the CSIC.

In the meantime, I had established contacts with major researchers working in the fields of education and immigration, including Prof. Margaret Gibson at the University of California and her Spanish colleague, Dr. Jorge Pàmies Rovira, an anthropologist teaching at the Departament de Pedagogia Sistemàtica i Social (Department of Systamatic and Social Pedagogy) at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, UAB (Autonomous University of Barcelona) whom I met during my stay in Spain. In the period of February-June 2009, I also met with Prof. Joaquim Arnau who teaches at the Departament de Psicologia Evolutiva i de l'Educació (Department of Evolutionary Psychology and Education) at the Universitat de Barcelona, UB (University of Barcelona) and with Prof. Teun A. van Dijk who teaches at the Departament de Traducció i Ciències del Llenguatge (Department of Translation and Language

Sciences) at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Pompeu Fabra University). I also had the chance to meet and talk to Diana López-Falcon, a researcher at the Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics, CED (Center of Demographic Studies). These scholars helped me not only to expand my bibliography with sources related to immigration, education, and discrimination, but they also provided me with valuable contact information regarding researchers, educators, foundations, and organizations.

In addition, I established directly and indirectly contacts with people at the Departament d'Educació (Department of Education) of the Generalitat de Catalunya (Government of Catalonia). I met with Mr. Pere Mayans, the head of the Servei d'Immersió i Ús de la Llengua (Service of Immersion and Language Use), who provided me with a lot of useful government documents and materials used in language immersion programs. Although I did not have the opportunity to meet her in person, I had an extensive correspondence with Ms./Mrs. Mariona Barba Albós who works at the Sección de Documentación (Documentation Section) of the Departament d'Educació. She helped me with finding recent statistical data regarding students at Barcelona schools and prepared for me a number of letters of permission to present to the schools at which I was to conduct my surveys.

Some of the last contacts I established in Barcelona were at the Consorci d'Educació de Barcelona (Barcelona Consortium of Education). Despite the initial lack of response, the bureaucratic and administrative obstacles I encountered with regard to obtaining an official permission to conduct my research, my meetings at the Consorci happened to be the real turning point in my research progress. Mr. Celestí Bertrán i Infante, who works in the Àrea de Gestió Educativa de Centres Públics (Area

of Education Management of Public Centers) at the Consorci, and his colleagues were the ones who contacted public schools on my behalf and asked for their permission. Of the nine public schools they called in Ciutat Vella, eight (four elementary and four secondary) agreed to give me their permission to conduct my surveys on their premises.

When I was at the Consorci once, I was told that, although quite some researchers had gone there looking for data and other materials, there were no precedents for people interested in conducting studies at school sites. This surprised me because, before my visits to the Consorci, I had been discouraged by prominent scholars (both Spanish and foreign) who had worked extensively on immigrant education in Spain. I had been told that it would be extremely hard, if not impossible, to obtain permission to conduct my research at schools. A possible explanation is that many scholars working individually do not want to go through the tedious process and prefer to rely mainly on secondary sources. It is also possible that those who do collect primary data usually work with much smaller samples and, therefore, avoid bureaucratic impediments. The truth is that obtaining the permission was not hard at all. It was just time-consuming and tiresome which could probably be explained with Spanish authorities' lack of experience with regard to such types of requests.

4.3. The Site

Todd D. Jick argues that the very selection of a research site is "a function of qualitative data as is the process of building and pretesting a survey instrument."[319] As

[319] Jick, p. 604

for the choice of Barcelona as the site of my research, I have a few reasons for choosing this city over others. First, Barcelona is, as of 2005, the area with the highest concentration of Moroccan immigrants. The number of Moroccans there is 83,225, which constitutes 21.53% of the whole Moroccan population in Spain.[320] Just for comparison, the Moroccans in Madrid, which has the second highest concentration, constitute 13.25% (as of 2005).[321] In addition, 61,850 out of the 402,116 foreign students in the country (for the 2004-2005 academic year) attend primary and secondary schools in Barcelona.[322] Of these 61,850 students, 29,540 come from South America, 16,884 come from Africa, about 7,000 come from Europe (EU and non-EU countries), 5,138 come from Asia, etc.[323] The city is also located in the autonomous community of Catalonia, which has the highest concentration of school-age Moroccan children. Of all 69,305 Moroccan students attending primary and secondary schools in Spain in the academic year 2004-2005, 23,764 are in Catalonia.[324]

Barcelona, which for decades has been a gateway for African immigrants to Western Europe, is now a destination itself for many people who leave their countries of origin in search of better opportunities.[325] The city also presents an interesting case both with regard to the bilingual education (Spanish and Catalan) offered at schools as

---

[320] Aparicio Gómez *et al*., pp. 34-36

[321] *Ibid*., pp. 55-56

[322] *Anuario Estadístico de Inmigración: Año 2005*, p, 367

[323] *Ibid*., p. 370

[324] *Anuario Estadístico de Inmigración: Año 2005*. pp. 382-383

[325] Gozálvez Pérez *et al*., p. 75

well as the high percentage of *centros concertados*, which are perceived by many families from the lower and lower-middle classes "as a way of climbing the social ladder." One of the main reasons given by the families for sending their children to these private schools is their supposed quality, i.e. they are said to provide a better education and higher student outcomes, but this is not always true. Furthermore, the *centros concertados* seem to exclude the majority of immigrant children since approximately 80% of this population are enrolled in public schools.[326]

The specific site at which this research project was conducted is Ciutat Vella, one of the ten districts of Barcelona. Ciutat Vella, which means "old city" in Catalan and includes the oldest residential sections in Barcelona, consists of four administrative neighborhoods: El Raval, El Gòtic, La Barceloneta, and Sant Pere, Santa Caterina i la Ribera. As of 2006, Ciutat Vella has a population of 113,154.[327] Its neighborhood El Raval, which is also known as Barri Xinès or Barrio Chino (Chinatown), was until not long ago one of the world's most densely populated urban areas. Although recent regeneration plans have significantly altered the economic and social characteristics of parts of the neighborhood, many of the streets have not been reached yet and are still reminiscent of the Middle Ages.[328]

In fact, during the Middle Ages, el Raval remained outside of the first walls surrounding the Rambla. There, there were convents with huge gardens and charitable institutions, like the Hospital or the Asylum, as well as residential buildings along the

---

[326] Jacott, p. 100

[327] See *Ciutat Vella: El territorio y los barrios.*

[328] See *El Raval.*

roads leading to the countryside and to cultivated lands. Subsequently, el Raval developed as a city and, in the course of time, it transformed into a distinguished place. Nowadays, the whole neighborhood is subject to a double influence. On one hand, for some time, the municipality has been making great efforts to renovate it and increase the value of old buildings with the goal of turning el Raval into a cultural and touristic center with museums, art galleries, and university faculties. But, on the other hand, the plenitude of old buildings has not only maintained an overall elderly and marginal population but it has also attracted immigrants with diverse ethnic backgrounds. As a result, the neighborhood has a very intercultural character with many shelters and centers of cooperation but, at the same time, it is a place where juvenile delinquency abounds and where tensions and conflicts are frequent.[329]

In fact, el Raval's central location and low rents have always attracted both transients and immigrants.[330] The comparatively recent appearance of a large and continuously growing Muslim community in the neighborhood has also contributed to el Raval's altered image. Consisting mainly of Moroccan and Pakistani immigrants, this community has taken over apartments that are no longer wanted by Spanish people. These new immigrants have encountered a whole set of problems including language barriers, legal difficulties, prejudice and discrimination. Moreover, among the "typical problems" of el Raval's residents are: low income, health, social isolation,

---

[329] Siguan, p. 117

[330] See *El Raval* and Martínez Veiga, p. 118.

unemployment, housing, family issues, legal matters, and schooling (mainly, educational backwardness and truancy).[331]

4.4. Population and Sample

The main target population of the study consists of elementary and secondary school students in Spain and, more specifically, Barcelona. The other target population[332] includes teachers at elementary and secondary schools in Barcelona. All the student and teacher surveys were conducted at schools in Ciutat Vella, a district which was chosen primarily for its convenient location and for the high concentration of Moroccan students at its schools, actually the highest in Barcelona. The surveys were distributed and later collected at a total of nine schools: four public elementary, four private elementary and one private elementary/secondary school (*centro concertado*). The numbers of students and teachers participating in the surveys were 512 out of 3076 (i.e., 16.64% of the total number of students at the nine schools), and 67 out of approximately 300 (i.e., 22.33% of the estimated total number of teachers at the nine schools), respectively.

According to data provided by the Departament d'Educació and the Consorci d'Educació, the total number of Centros de Educación Infantil y Primaria, CEIP (Centers of Preschool and Elementary Education) and Institutos de Educación Secundaria, IES (Institutes of secondary Education) in Ciutat Vella are, respectively,

---

[331] See *El Raval*.

[332] The data collected from the teacher surveys were meant to only supplement the data gathered from the student survey, which constitues the basis of the study.

eleven and five. Once the research site was chosen, i.e. the Ciutat Vella district, the sampling was random. During a meeting with Mr. Bertrán i Infante and two of his colleagues at the Consorci d'Educació, five CEIPs and five IESs were randomly selected from a list of all the schools in the district. Four of the five CEIPs agreed to participate in the surveys and all five IESs gave their permission. However, because of an omission on our part, one of the IESs turned out to be located in another district. Thus, the surveys were conducted at four out of Cuitat Vella's eleven CEIPs and at four out of the district's five IESs.

With regard to private schools, there is a total of eight private institutions/*centros concertados* in the district that offer elementary and secondary education. I visited five of them. Only one of the five schools agreed to participate. As for the remaining four schools, one did not want to participate, one said it was bad timing and I should check with them later (which was not possible), and two did not respond in spite of my several visits and electronic messages to each of them.

In order to protect the anonymity of the nine schools which participated in the surveys, I assigned fictitious names to all of them: CEIP Diego Velázquez (DV), CEIP Federico García Lorca (GL), CEIP El Greco (EG), CEIP Miguel de Unamuno (MU), centro concertado Salvador Dalí (SD), IES Miguel de Cervantes (MC), IES Antoni Gaudí (AG), IES Joan Miró (JM), and IES Pablo Picasso (PP). The table below (Table 6) shows the total number of students at each of the nine schools, the number of students who participated in the survey and the percentage they constitute of the total number of students at every school.

Table 6. Schools participating in the surveys

Name of school	Total number of students	Number of students participating in the survey	Percent of students participating in the survey/total number of students
CEIP Diego Velázquez (DV)	381	40	10.50%
CEIP Federico García Lorca (GL)	431	52	12.06%
CEIP El Greco (EG)	218	43	19.72%
CEIP Miguel de Unamuno (MU)	223	52	23.32%
(*Centro con certado*) Salvador Dalí (SD)	356	82	23.03%
IES Miguel de Cervantes (MC)	565	115	20.35%
IES Antoni Gaudí (AG)	450	48	10.67%
IES Joan Miró (JM)	217	27	12.44%
IES Pablo Picasso (PP)	235	53	22.55%
Total	3,076	512	16.64%

However, the percentages presented in the table could be misleading if taken out of context. Since one of the main goals of the surveys was to reveal how much and what students at Spanish elementary and secondary schools study about Morocco and Islam, the surveys were distributed primarily among upper-level elementary and secondary school students.[333] This was done with the assumption that the responses provided by upper-level students would be more representative than those provided by

[333]Here, "upper-level" and "upper-class" are used to refer to the second half of elementary and secondary education respectively, i.e. grades 4-6 of elementary school and grades 3-4 of secondary school.

lower-level students with regard to what is taught and studied about Morocco and Islam in elementary and secondary schools. For example, a 6th-grader's response would reflect his or her 5-6 years of experience at the elementary school, while the response of a 1st- or 2nd-grader would reflect only his or her 0-2 years of experience at the elementary school, which would not be sufficient to make any conclusions regarding what is taught and studied at that level. Similarly, a high school senior's response would reflect his or her 3-4 years of experience at the secondary level, while the response of a high school freshman would reflect only his 0-1 year of experience at that level, which also would be insufficient to draw any conclusions.

Thus, the first elementary school listed above, CEIP DV, has a total of 381 students and approximately 63-64 of them are 6th-graders.[334] At the same time, all 40 students who took part in the survey were 6th-graders. This means that around 63% of 6th-graders at CEIP DV participated in the survey. As for the second elementary school, CEIP GL, it has a total of 431 students and approximately 72 students in every grade. All 52 students who participated in the survey were 5th- and 6th-graders. Since the total number of 5th- and 6th graders at CEIP GL is about 144, approximately 36% of them took part in the survey. The third elementary school, CEIP EG, has a total of 218 students and approximately 36 students in every grade. All 43 students who participated in the survey were 5th- and 6th-graders. Since the total number of 5th- and 6th-graders at CEIP EG is about 72, approximately 60% of them took part in the survey. The last elementary school, CEIP MU, has a total of 223 students and approximately 37 students in every grade. All 52 students who participated in the

[334] The total number of students (1st-6th grade) at CEIP is 381, which means that there are approximately 63.5 students in every grade (including 6th grade).

survey were 4th-, 5th- or 6th-graders. Since the total number of 4th-, 5th- and 6th-graders at CEIP MU is about 111, approximately 47% of them took part in the survey.

As for the four secondary schools, the situation is similar with the exception of IES MC. The 115 students from IES MC who took part in the survey are not only juniors and seniors but also freshmen and sophomores. The main reason for this is the different way in which data were collected at this particular school. The general procedure consisted in leaving copies of the surveys with the schools' principals and collecting the completed forms a few days later. However, IES MC was the first school at which the surveys were conducted and the process of gathering data differed from the general procedure. When I visited IES MC, the principal walked with me from classroom to classroom and asked the teachers to distribute the surveys among their respective students and collect them by the end of the class period. Thus, the data gathered included responses not only by upper-class secondary students but also by students in lower grades, i.e. first and second grade. Therefore, the 115 students who participated in the survey do represent about 20% of the total student population at IES MC.

The second secondary school, IES AG, has a total of 450 students and approximately 75 students in every grade.[335] All 48 students who participated in the survey were 3rd- and 4th-graders. Since the total number of 3rd- and 4th-graders at IES AG is about 150, approximately 32% of them took part in the survey. The third secondary school, IES JM, has a total of 217 students and approximately 36 students

[335] Obligatory secondary education in Spain refers to the first four years of high school but many high schools provide also two years of post-obligatory secondary education, i.e. *Bachillerato*. This study focuses on obligatory secondary education.

in every grade.[336] All 27 students who participated in the survey were 3rd- and 4th-graders. Since the total number of 3rd- and 4th-graders at IES JM is about 72, approximately 37.5% of them took part in the survey. The fourth secondary school, IES PP, has a total of 235 students and approximately 39 students in every grade. Of the 53 students who participated in the survey, 9 were *Bachillerato* students. The rest, i.e. 44 students, were 3rd- and 4th-graders. Since the total number of 3rd- and 4th-graders at IES PP is about 78, approximately 56% of them took part in the survey.

As for the only private school, Salvador Dalí (SD), it has a total of 356 students and approximately 36 students in every grade.[337] Thus, there are about 36 elementary school 6th-graders and 36 secondary school 4th-graders. Of the 82 students from SD who participated in the survey, 25 were elementary school 6th-graders and 25 were secondary school 4th-graders. Therefore, around 69% of the elementary school 6th-graders and around 69% of the secondary school 4th-graders at SD took part in the survey. The remaining 32 students were secondary school 1st-graders.

The percentages of upper-level students who participated in the survey are much higher than the percentages in Table 6 (see above). Whereas the percentages in the table vary between roughly 10% and 23%, the percentages elaborated on above vary between approximately 32% (i.e. almost one third) and 69% (i.e. more than two thirds). This shows that both upper-class elementary and upper-class secondary school students at all nine schools were well represented in the sample.

---

[336] See the footnote above.

[337] The *centro concertado*, Salvador Dalí, offers elementary and obligatory secondary education but not post-obligatory secondary education, i.e. 1-4 grades of elementary school and 1-6 grades of secondary school. See <http://vedruna-angels.org/etapes.php>

4.5. Characteristics of the Sample

4.5.1. Characteristics of the Student Sample

4.5.1.1. Distribution by Age

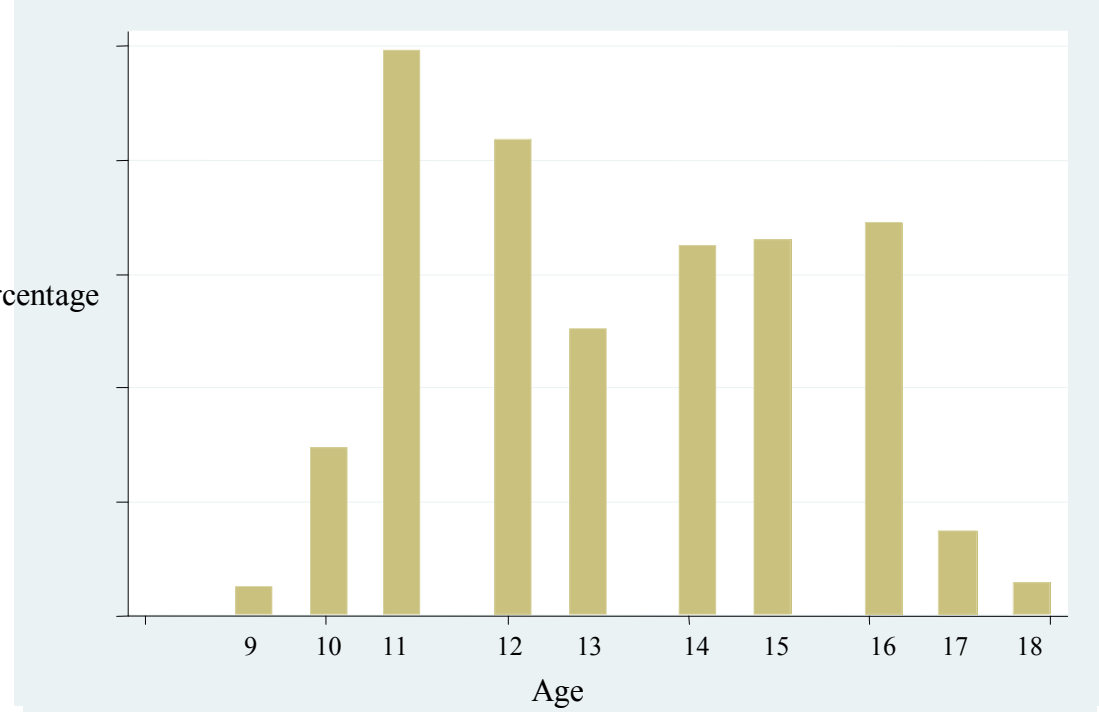
Of all 512, 496 (96.88%) provided their age information. The age distribution is presented in the table below (Table 7).

Table 7. Distribution by age

Age	**Number of students**	**Percent**	**Cumulative**
9	5	1.01%	1.01%
10	30	6.05%	7.06%
11	101	20.36%	27.42%
12	85	17.14%	44.56%
13	51	10.28%	54.84%
14	66	13.31%	68.15%
15	67	13.51%	81.65%
16	70	14.11%	95.77%
17	15	3.02%	98.79%
18	6	1.21%	100.00%
Total	496	100.00%	

Variable	**Observations**	**Mean**	**Standard Deviation**	**Min**	**Max**
Age	496	13.20766	2.094539	9	18

Figure 12. Distribution by age



The initial target population consisted of upper-level elementary school students (i.e., 5th and 6th grades) and upper-lever secondary school students (i.e. 3rd and 4th grades). The choice of this target population was based on the assumption that the responses from upper-level elementary and secondary students would better reflect the amount and kind of knowledge imparted throughout the years at each of the two educational stages. Therefore, it was expected that the age ranges would be 10-12 and 14-16, respectively. However, as Table 7 and Figure 12 above show, the distribution by age is quite different. This is due to a number of factors, such as the availability, convenience and time limitations of the school staff assisting with the distribution of the surveys. Thus, students from other grades were included (e.g., 1st- and 2nd-graders from IES MC, 1st-graders from the *centro concertado* SD, 4th-graders from CEIP MU,

and 1st-year *Bachillerato* students from IES PP). As a result, the age range ended up being much wider, i.e. 9-18.

The distribution of student age by school is the following:

Table 8. Age distribution by school: Elementary schools

School	Age	Number of students	Percent
CEIP DV (40 students)	11	21	52.50%
	12	15	37.50%
	13	4	10.00%
CEIP GL (52 students)	10	6	11.54%
	11	23	44.23%
	12	16	30.77%
	13	3	5.77%
	No response	4	7.69%
CEIP EG (43 students)	10	4	9.30%
	11	22	51.16%
	12	13	30.23%
	13	3	6.98%
	No response	1	2.33%
CEIP MU (52 students)	9	5	9.61%
	10	20	38.46%
	11	17	32.69%
	12	8	15.38%
	No response	2	3.85%

Table 9. Age distribution by school: Secondary schools

School	Age	Number of students	Percent
IES MC (115 students)	12	10	8.70%
	13	27	23.48%
	14	43	37.39%
	15	12	10.43%
	16	13	11.30%
	17	1	0.87%
	18	1	0.87%
	No response	8	6.96%
IES AG (48 students)	14	5	10.42%
	15	19	39.58%
	16	18	37.50%
	17	5	10.42%
	No response	1	2.08%
IES JM (27 students)	14	8	29.63%
	15	12	44.44%
	16	6	22.22%
	18	1	3.70%
IES PP (53 students)	14	8	15.09%
	15	12	22.64%
	16	21	39.62%
	17	8	15.09%
	18	4	7.55%

Table 10. Age distribution by school: *Centro concertado*

School	Age	Number of students	Percent
SD (82 students)	11	18	21.95%
	12	23	28.05%
	13	14	17.07%
	14	2	2.44%
	15	12	14.63%
	16	12	14.63%
	17	1	1.22%

As the tables and figures above show, the students' ages fall within the range of 9-18. In general, the correspondence between age and grade level for elementary school children is: age 9-10 for 4th grade, age 10-11 for 5th grade, and age 11-12 for 6th grade. The correspondence between age and grade level for secondary school children is: age 12-13 for 1st grade, age 13-14 for 2nd grade, age 14-15 for 3rd grade, and age 15-16 for 4th grade. As for first-year Bachillerato students, the normal age range is 16-17 (Table 11).

Table 11. Correspondence between grades and age range

Grade	Normal age range	Age range in the sample
Elementary 4th grade	9 – 10	9 – 10
Elementary 5th grade	10 – 11	10 – 12
Elementary 6th grade	11 – 12	11 – 13
Secondary 1st grade	12 – 13	12 – 14
Secondary 2nd grade	13 – 14	13 – 15
Secondary 3rd grade	14 – 15	14 – 17
Secondary 4th grade	15 – 16	15 – 18
Bachillerato 1st year	16 – 17	16 – 18

However, as Table 11 above shows, the age range for each grade level in the sample (with the exception of elementary 4th grade) is wider than the normal age range. Furthermore, there are significant variations among schools with regard to the number of overage-for-grade students. For example, none of the 52 students from CEIP MU who participated in the survey is overage for his/her respective grade level. At the same time, 16 out of the 53 students (30.19%) from IES PP who took part in the survey are overage for their respective grade levels. The number of the remaining overage-for-grade children participating in the survey, by school, is: IES AG – 9 out of 48 (18.75%), CEIP EG – 7 out of 43 (16.28%), IES MC – 14 out of 115 (12.17%), CEIP DV – 4 out of 40 (10.00%), IES JM – 2 out of 27 (7.41%), *centro concertado* SD – 3 out of 57 (5.26%), and CEIP GL - 3 out of 62 (4.84%).

According to the numbers above, the total number of overage-for-grade students at the nine schools is 58. The vast majority (i.e. 51) of these 58 students were born outside of Spain and/or at least one of their parents was born outside of the country. For example, 15 out of the 16 overage-for-grade students from IES PP come from other countries, all of which have less developed economies and lower standards of living than Spain. Six of these 15 students are 16-year-old secondary 3rd-graders: a female student from the Dominican Republic, a male student from the Philippines, a female student from the Philippines, a female student from Ecuador, a male student from China, and a female student whose parents were born in China. One of the 15 students is a 17-year-old secondary 3rd grader: a male student from Brazil.

The situation is similar with regard to the remaining eight overage-for-grade students from IES PP. Five of these eight students are 17-year-old secondary 4th graders: a female student from Pakistan, a male student from Ecuador, a female student from Pakistan, a female student from Bolivia, and a female student from the Dominican Republic. The remaining students are 18-year-old secondary 4th graders: a male student from Pakistan, a male student from Morocco, and a female student from Pakistan. The last one of the 16 students is an 18-year old 1-st year Bachillerato student: a female student from Colombia.

The profile of the overage-for-grade students at the other seven schools is very similar to the one described above. The majority of overage-for-grade students come mainly from countries such as: Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Morocco, Pakistan, and the Philippines. In addition, the majority of these students came to Spain in the period from 2000 to 2008. These observations are very

important because they have serious implications for the academic performance and integration of immigrant children in Spanish schools and society at large, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

4.5.1.2. Distribution by Gender

Of all 512 students, 492 (96.09%) have provided their gender information. The gender information is summarized in the table below (Table 12).

Table 12. Distribution by gender

Gender	Number of students	Percent	Cumulative
Female	253	51.42%	51.42%
Male	238	48.37%	99.80%
I do not know	1	0.20%	100.00
Total	492	100.00%	

As Table 12 shows, there is not a substantial difference between the total number of boys and the total number of girls who participated in the survey. However, as the tables below reveal (Tables 13-15), the variations among the schools in the sample (both among schools of the same type and among schools of different types) are more substantial. For example, an equal number of male and females students from CEIP EG took part in the survey, while the ratio of female to male students from CEIP MU who participated in the survey is almost 2/1 (see Table 13).

Table 13. Gender distribution by school: Elementary schools

School	Gender	Number of students	Percent
CEIP DV (40 students)	F	16	40%
	M	24	60%
CEIP GL (52 students)	F	22	42.31%
	M	24	46.15%
	No response	6	11.54%
CEIP EG (43 students)	F	21	48.84%
	M	21	48.84%
	No response	1	2.33%
CEIP MU (52 students)	F	33	63.46%
	M	19	36.54%

As Table 14 below shows, the gender distribution among the secondary schools participating in the survey is more even.

Table 14. Gender distribution by school: Secondary schools

School	Gender	Number of students	Percent
IES MC (115 students)	F	51	44.35%
	M	51	44.35%
	No response	13	11.30%
IES AG (48 students)	F	26	54.17%
	M	21	43.75%
	"I do not know"	1	2.08%
IES JM (27 students)	F	12	44.44%
	M	15	55.56%
IES PP (53 students)	F	27	50.94%
	M	26	49.06%

With regard to the centro concertado, more girls than boys participated in the survey. However, these numbers include both elementary and secondary school students, i.e. 25 elementary school children and 57 secondary school children. Of the 25 elementary school children, 16 are female and 9 are male. Of the 57 secondary school children, 29 are female and 28 are male.

Table 15. Gender distribution by school: *Centro concertado*

School	Gender	Number of students	Percent
SD (82 students)	F	45	54.88%
	M	37	45.12%

Since the secondary data gathered from the Departament d'Educació do not include information regarding students' gender, it is not possible to determine how representative the sample is of the gender distribution at each of the nine schools. Regardless of this, gender is an important variable and essential in analyzing the variations among students' responses to the survey's questions.

4.5.1.3. Distribution by Place of Origin

Of all 512 students, 488 (95.31%) have answered the question related to their place of origin. The answers are summarized in the table below.

Table 16. Distribution by place of origin

Place of Origin	Number of students	Percent	Cumulative
Spain	200	40.98%	40.98%
Ecuador	50	10.25%	51.23%
Pakistan	35	7.17%	58.40%
Dominican Republic	28	5.74%	64.14%
Bangladesh	26	5.33%	69.47%
Philippines	26	5.33%	74.80%
Morocco	22	4.51%	79.31%
Colombia	14	2.87%	82.18%
Bolivia	12	2.46%	84.64%
China	11	2.25%	86.89%
Brazil	10	2.05%	88.94%
Argentina	9	1.84%	90.78%
Uruguay	5	1.02%	91.80%
Chile	4	0.82%	92.62%
Peru	4	0.82%	93.44%
France	3	0.61%	94.05%
Honduras	3	0.61%	94.66%
Venezuela	3	0.61%	95.27%
Others	23	4.71%	100.00%
Total	488	100.00%	

Among the students who fall in the category of "others," two students from each of the following countries: Cuba, India, Poland, Romania, and Russia. One student comes from each of these countries: Austria, Canada, Georgia, Italy, Japan, Nepal, Paraguay, Portugal, Senegal, South Korea, Syria, and the USA.

The place of origin is an important variable in this study for several reasons. It shows the ethnic and cultural diversity of the sample and provides insight into the composition of the student body and environment of their respective schools. It also allows for the identification of patterns across the sample. As the tables below indicate (Tables 17 and Tables 18), all nine schools participating in the survey have very ethnically and culturally diverse student bodies. It is important to note that often even those students that marked Spain as their place of origin have at least one foreign-born parent. The tables below also show that each of the nine schools – whether elementary or secondary, publc or private - has Moroccan students.

Tables 17. "Place of origin" distribution by school: Elementary schools

Table 17a. CEIP DV

School	Place of origin	Number of students	Percent
CEIP DV (40 students)	Spain	13	32.50%
	China	3	7.50%
	Ecuador	3	7.50%
	Colombia	2	5.00%
	France	2	5.00%
	Morocco	2	5.00%
	Pakistan	2	5.00%
	Uruguay	2	5.00%
	Argentina	1	2.50%
	Bolivia	1	2.50%
	Chile	1	2.50%
	Dominican Republic	1	2.50%
	Italy	1	2.50%
	Paraguay	1	2.50%
	Peru	1	2.50%
	Poland	1	2.50%
	Russia	1	2.50%
	USA	1	2.50%
	No response	1	2.50%

Table 17b. CEIP GL

School	Place of origin	Number of students	Percent
CEIP GL (52)	Spain	21	40.38%
	Pakistan	7	13.46%
	Bangladesh	6	11.54%
	Ecuador	5	9.62%
	Philippines	3	5.77%
	Argentina	2	3.85%
	Bolivia	2	3.85%
	Dominican Republic	2	3.85%
	Morocco	2	3.85%
	No response	2	3.85%

Table 17c. CEIP EG

School	Place of origin	Number of students	Percent
CEIP EG (43)	Spain	13	30.23%
	Bangladesh	6	13.95%
	Ecuador	6	13.95%
	Pakistan	3	6.98%
	Brazil	2	4.65%
	Colombia	2	4.65%
	Dominican Republic	2	4.65%
	Morocco	2	4.65%
	Argentina	1	2.33%
	Bolivia	1	2.33%
	Cuba	1	2.33%
	Romania	1	2.33%
	No response	3	6.98%

Table 17d. CEIP MU

School	Place of origin	Number of students	Percent
CEIP MU (52 students)	Spain	28	53.85%
	Morocco	5	9.62%
	Ecuador	4	7.69%
	Pakistan	4	7.69%
	Bangladesh	2	3.85%
	Colombia	2	3.85%
	Dominican Republic	2	3.85%
	Chile	1	1.92%
	China	1	1.92%
	Europe	1	1.92%
	Peru	1	1.92%
	Russia	1	1.92%

Tables 18. "Place of origin" distribution by school: Secondary schools

Table 18a. IES MC

School	Place of origin	Number of students	Percent
IES MC (115 students)	Spain	25	21.74%
	Ecuador	15	13.04%
	Philippines	13	11.30%
	Dominican Republic	10	8.70%
	Bangladesh	9	7.83%
	Pakistan	7	6.09%
	Colombia	4	3.48%
	Honduras	3	2.61%
	Bolivia	2	1.74%
	Brazil	2	1.74%
	China	2	1.74%
	India	2	1.74%
	Morocco	2	1.74%
	Argentina	1	0.87%
	Austria	1	0.87%
	Chile	1	0.87%
	Cuba	1	0.87%
	France	1	0.87%
	Georgia	1	0.87%
	Japan	1	0.87%
	No response	12	10.43%

Table 18b. IES AG

School	Place of origin	Number of students	Percent
IES AG (48 students)	Spain	21	43.75%
	Dominican Republic	4	8.33%
	Pakistan	4	8.33%
	Ecuador	3	6.25%
	Colombia	2	4.17%
	Morocco	2	4.17%
	Philippines	2	4.17%
	Bolivia	2	4.17%
	Bangladesh	1	2.08%
	Brazil	1	2.08%
	Poland	1	2.08%
	Venezuela	1	2.08%
	Uruguay	1	2.08%
	No response	3	6.25%

Table 18c. IES JM

School	Place of origin	Number of students	Percent
IES JM (27 students)	Spain	12	44.44%
	Ecuador	4	14.81%
	Brazil	3	11.11%
	Morocco	2	7.41%
	Chile	1	3.70%
	Pakistan	1	3.70%
	Romania	1	3.70%
	Senegal	1	3.70%
	Syria	1	3.70%
	Uruguay	1	3.70%

Table 18d. IES PP

School	Place of origin	Number of students	Percent
IES PP (53)	Spain	5	9.43%
	Ecuador	8	15.09%
	Dominican Republic	7	13.21%
	China	5	9.43%
	Bolivia	4	7.55%
	Morocco	4	7.55%
	Pakistan	4	7.55%
	Argentina	3	5.66%
	Brazil	2	3.77%
	Colombia	2	3.77%
	Peru	2	3.77%
	Philippines	2	3.77%
	Uruguay	1	1.89%
	Venezuela	1	1.89%
	No response	3	5.66%

Table 19. "Place of origin" distribution by school: *Centro concertado*

School	Place of origin	Number of students	Percent
SD (82 students)	Spain	62	75.61%
	Philippines	6	7.32%
	Pakistan	3	3.66%
	Bangladesh	2	2.44%
	Ecuador	2	2.44%
	Argentina	1	1.22%
	Canada	1	1.22%
	Morocco	1	1.22%
	Nepal	1	1.22%
	Portugal	1	1.22%
	South Korea	1	1.22%
	Venezuela	1	1.22%

4.5.1.4. Distribution by Time of Arrival in Spain

With regard to immigrant students' time of arrival in Spain, the responses are summarized in the table below.

Table 20. Distribution by time of arrival in Spain

Time of arrival in Spain	Number of students	Percent	Cumulative
1994	2	0.79%	0.79%
1995	1	0.39%	1.18%
1996	3	1.18%	2.36%
1997	2	0.79	3.15%
1998	6	2.36%	5.51%
1999	4	1.57%	7.09%
2000	15	5.91%	12.99%
2001	26	10.24%	23.23%
2001 or 2000	1	0.39%	23.62%
2002	18	7.09%	30.71%
2002-2003	2	0.79%	31.50%
2003	28	11.02%	42.52%
2003 (father – 1990)	1	0.39%	42.91%
2003-2004	1	0.39%	43.31%
2004	24	9.45%	52.76%
2005	28	11.02%	63.78%
2005-2006	2	0.79%	64.57%
2006	26	10.24%	74.80%
2007	31	12.20%	87.01%
2008	27	10.63%	97.64%
2009	4	1.57%	99.21%
When I was little	1	0.39%	99.61%
I do not know	1	0.39%	100.00%
Total	254	100.00%	

The time of arrival is another important variable. It indicates the amount of time that immigrant students at Spanish schools have been in the country, which has implications for their academic performance and integration. As Table 20 shows, most of the immigrant children at the nine schools came to Spain between 2000 and 2008. Furthermore, the number of children born outside of Spain constitutes roughly 50% of the student sample. This recent and massive influx of immigrant children has serious implications for schools' environment and curriculum, as well as for education policies.

The following tables (Tables 21-23) illustrate the distribution of students' time of arrival in Spain by school:

Tables 21. "Time of arrival in Spain" distribution by school: Elementary schools

Table 21a. CEIP DV

School	Time of arrival	Number of students	Percent
CEIP DV (40 students)	1999	1	2.50%
	2000	2	5.00%
	2001	5	12.50%
	2002	1	2.50%
	2003	3	7.50%
	2004	2	5.00%
	2005-2006	1	2.50%
	2006	3	7.50%
	2007	1	2.50%
	2008	4	10.00%
	No response	17	42.50%

Table 21b. CEIP GL

School	Time of arrival	Number of students	Percent
CEIP GL (52 students)	2002-2003	1	1.92%
	2003	6	11.54%
	2004	3	5.77%
	2005	4	7.69%
	2005-2006	1	1.92%
	2006	3	5.77%
	2007	2	3.85%
	2008	2	3.85%
	2009	1	1.92%
	No response	29	55.77%

Table 21c. CEIP EG

School	Time of arrival	Number of students	Percent
CEIP EG (43 students)	1998	1	2.33%
	2000	3	6.98%
	2001	3	6.98%
	2002	2	4.65%
	2002-2003	1	2.33%
	2003	3	6.98%
	2004	1	2.33%
	2005	3	6.98%
	2006	1	2.33%
	2007	2	4.65%
	2008	3	6.98%
	No response	20	46.51%

Table 21d. CEIP MU

School	Time of arrival	Number of students	Percent
CEIP MU (52 students)	2001	5	9.62%
	2002	1	1.92%
	2003	1	1.92%
	2003-2004	1	1.92%
	2004	1	1.92%
	2005	5	9.62%
	2006	3	5.77%
	2009	2	3.85%
	When I was little	1	1.92%
	No response	32	61.54%

Tables 22. "Time of arrival in Spain" distribution by school: Secondary schools

Table 22a. IES MC

School	Time of arrival	Number of students	Percent
IES MC (115 students)	1994	1	0.87%
	1996	1	0.87%
	1997	1	0.87%
	1998	1	0.87%
	1999	1	0.87%
	2000	4	3.48%
	2000 or 2001	1	0.87%
	2001	2	1.74%
	2002	5	4.35%
	2003	7	6.09%
	2004	6	5.22%
	2005	6	5.22%
	2006	8	6.96%
	2007	12	10.43%
	2008	9	7.83%
	I do not know	1	0.87%
	No response	49	42.61%

Table 22b. IES AG

School	Time of arrival	Number of students	Percent
IES AG (48 students)	1994	1	2.08%
	1998	1	2.08%
	2000	2	4.17%
	2001	1	2.08%
	2002	3	6.25%
	2003	2	4.17%
	2005	2	4.17%
	2006	2	4.17%
	2007	6	12.50%
	2008	3	6.25%
	No response	25	52.08%

Table 22c. IES JM

School	Time of arrival	Number of students	Percent
IES JM (27 students)	1996	1	3.70%
	1999	1	3.70%
	2000	1	3.70%
	2001	2	7.41%
	2002	3	11.11%
	2006	1	3.70%
	2007	2	7.41%
	2008	1	3.70%
	2009	1	3.70%
	No response	14	51.85%

Table 22d. IES PP

School	Time of arrival	Number of students	Percent
IES PP (53 students)	1997	1	1.89%
	2000	3	5.66%
	2001	6	11.32%
	2002	2	3.77%
	2003	6	11.32%
	2004	5	9.43%
	2005	7	13.21%
	2006	4	7.55%
	2007	5	9.43%
	2008	5	9.43%
	No response	9	16.98%

Table 23. "Time of arrival in Spain" distribution by school: *Centro concertado*

School	Time of arrival	Number of students	Percent
SD (82 students)	1995	1	1.22%
	1996	1	1.22%
	1998	3	3.66%
	1999	1	1.22%
	2001	2	2.44%
	2002	1	1.22%
	2003	1	1.22%
	2004	6	7.32%
	2005	1	1.22%
	2006	1	1.22%
	2007	1	1.22%
	No response	63	76.83%

4.5.2. Characteristics of the Teacher Sample

The purpose of the variables listed below (i.e. age, gender, courses taught, and teaching experience) is to give insight into the kind of teachers who participated in the survey, as well as to allow for the identification of patterns, if any, in the teachers' responses to the survey questions.

4.5.2.1. Distribution by Age

The ages of the teachers who answered this question (95.52%) fall within the range of 21-67. The mean for all the 64 observations is 42.8125 and the standard deviation is 10.43327. The table below shows the age distribution.

Table 24. Distribution by age

Age	21	24	25	27	29	30	31	32	33	34	36
Freq.	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	5	1	2	2
Age	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	47	48	49	50
Freq.	3	4	1	3	3	2	4	1	1	5	2
Age	51	52	53	54	55	56	59	60	62	64	67
Freq.	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1

4.5.2.2. Distribution by Gender

Of all 67 teachers, 65 (97.01%) have provided their gender information. The gender information is summarized in the table below.

Table 25. Distribution by gender

Gender	Number of students	Percent
Female	35	53.85%
Male	30	46.15%
Total	65	

4.5.2.3. Additional Characteristics

The courses taught by teachers who took part in the survey present a wide range of subjects, such as: Catalan, Spanish, English, math, social sciences, languages, natural sciences, acollida, computer science, geography, philosophy, music, ethics, physical education, physics, chemistry, history, Catholic religion, special education, technology, visual and plastic arts. As for their teaching experience, it varies from 1 year to 42 years.

Table 26. Teachers' years of teaching experience

Variable	Observations	Mean	Stand. Deviation	Min	Max
Teaching experience	64	17.20313	11.25347	1	42

4.6. The Surveys

As already said, the main method employed in this study is the survey. For the purposes of this project, two surveys were designed targeting the two populations discussed above, i.e. students and teachers at primary and secondary schools in

Barcelona.[338] After obtaining permission from the eight public schools (four elementary and four secondary), I visited them and met with their principals leaving with them survey forms to be distributed and completed by students and teachers. The principals would then distribute the surveys among teachers who, on their part, would hand them out to students in their classes. Then, I would go back within two days to a week to collect the completed surveys. This was the procedure followed for seven of the eight schools. The principal of IES MC claimed nobody form the Consorci had called her but she still agreed to help me gather data. She took the blank forms and started going from one classroom to another, giving teachers surveys and asking them to distribute them to their students and bring the filled form to the teachers' room after the class was over. While I was waiting in the teachers' room for the completed surveys, I distributed some surveys to the teachers who happened to be there at that time. By the time the class was over, I had 115 completed student surveys and 13 completed teacher surveys.

The surveys are based on empirical studies on schooling of immigrant children. However, they do not follow any survey templates or any specific guidelines, primarily because of the lack of previous studies closely related to this one. The layout of the survey, including the instructions, can be seen in the Appendix section below, which includes both the original surveys in Spanish and their English translations. Three types of questions feature in the surveys: closed-ended, open-ended, and Likert scale questions. Here are examples for each of the types:

---

[338] The main target population of the study consists of students at elementary and secondary (both public and private) schools in Barcelona and, more specifically, in the Ciutat Vella district of the city. The teacher survey was intended to supplement the data gathered from the student survey, providing insight into teachers' perspective of the school environment, curriculum and Moroccan students.

1) Closed-ended questions:

Are there any Moroccan children at your school? (student survey)

Do you have any Moroccan friends? (student survey)

2) Likert scale questions:

How much do you study at school about Morocco, its geography, history, people, culture, languages, and religion? (student survey)

□ much □ enough □ neither much nor little □ little □ very little □ nothing

Students at your school are taught enough about Islam. (teacher survey)

□ strongly agree □ agree □ neither agree nor disagree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

3) Open-ended questions:

What do you know about Morocco (geography, history, people, culture and languages)? (student survey)

The questions included in the student survey focus on how much and what students at Spanish schools know about Morocco and anything related to it, i.e. culture, history, geography, people, religion, etc. There are also questions related to Moroccan students at the schools, as well as to teachers and staff of Moroccan origin. As for the questions in the teacher survey, they are related to Moroccan students at schools, their academic performance, discipline, and integration, in comparison to

those of both native children and other immigrant children. In addition, both surveys include personal information questions, such as age, gender, place of birth, parents' place of birth, parents' occupation, language(s) spoken at home, etc. The surveys were available only in Spanish because, as I was advised in Spain, a Catalan version was not needed because "everybody speaks Spanish."

4.7. Additional Data and Sources

Besides the data gathered through the student and teacher surveys, while in Spain, I collected a large number of secondary sources, among which government documents and some of the latest studies related to immigrants and education. I obtained statistical data, documents and other materials (including textbooks and teachers' guides) from the Departament d'Educació of the Generalitat de Catalunya and from the Consorci d'Educació de Bareclona. In addition, the scholars I had the opportunity to meet at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, and Universitat Pompeu Fabra, provided me with a good deal of other useful sources, primarily recent studies on topics related to immigrant education, immigration, discrimination, and Moroccans in Spain.

4.8. Data Analysis

4.8.1. Quantitative Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics is the main method used in the analysis of the quantitative parts of the surveys (e.g., numbers, percentages, means, standard deviations,

histograms, etc.). The statistical software used in the process of data analysis is Stata. The software has been selected because of its major strengths: data manipulation (which includes, among other things, transferring data from other sources into the program, generating new variables and summary data sets), statistics, and graphics.[339]

4.8.2. Qualitative Data Analysis

4.8.2.1. An Overview of Thematic Analysis

The main analytic approach used in dealing with the qualitative data gathered is thematic analysis. This is a process for encoding qualitative information which involves the identification of themes "at the manifest level (directly observable in the information) or at the latent level (underlying the phenomenon)." The themes can be generated deductively, i.e. from theory and prior research, or inductively, i.e. from the raw information.[340] The whole process of analyzing themes consists of four stages. After a pattern or theme is detected (first stage), it is encoded consistently (second stage) and codes are developed (third stage). The last step involves interpreting the themes in the context of theoretical and conceptual frameworks.[341]

The thematic codes developed in this study are generated from the raw information and, therefore, the focus here is on codes constructed inductively. These data-driven codes appear with the words and even syntax of the raw information. The closer to the unprocessed data they are, the more likely it is that different people examining these

---

[339] Baum, pp. 4-7

[340] Boyatzis, pp.vi-vii

[341] *Ibid*., p. 11

data will perceive and encode the information in a similar way. In fact, working directly with the raw data generally enhances appreciation of the data and also eliminates intermediaries, which are potential contaminators of the information. In addition, a complete view of the raw data helps the researcher to both detect evident aspects and recognize those difficult to discern.[342]

Regardless of the approach chosen in identifying themes and developing codes, a good thematic code, i.e. one that produces meaningful results, should have five important elements: 1) a *label*; 2) a *definition* of what the theme is about; 3) a description of how to recognize the theme's occurrences, or *indicators*; 4) a description of what qualifies and/or what is excluded, or *exclusion*; 5) *examples*, both positive and negative, to prevent confusion and uncertainty.[343] These elements are essential in the process of developing any kind of thematic code, i.e. a theory-driven, prior-research-driven, or data-driven one.

As already mentioned, the codes used in this study are data-driven ones, i.e. codes developed inductively. The data-driven approach, similarly to the theory-driven and the prior-research-driven approaches, consists of a number of stages which, on their part, involve a number of steps. These are listed in the table below:

---

[342] *Ibid.*, p. 30

[343] *Ibid.*, p. 31

Table 27. Data-driven approach: Summary of stages and steps in employing thematic analysis[344]

Stages:	**Steps:**
Stage I	1) Deciding on sampling and design issues 2) Selecting subsamples
Stage II	1) Reducing the raw information 2) Identifying themes within subsamples 3) Comparing themes across subsamples 4) Creating a code 5) Determining the reliability
Stage III	1) Applying the code to the remaining raw information 2) Determining validity 3) Interpreting results

As the table above shows, the first stage of thematic analysis not only includes the process of sampling and design but it also involves the selection of subsamples. The second stage refers to the phase of discovering and developing themes that differentiate the selected subsamples. It consists of reducing the raw information, identifying themes within subsamples and comparing them across subsamples. This is followed by creating codes and determining their reliability.[345] The first step of the second stage, i.e. reducing the raw information, allows for an in-depth review of the data which, on its part, ensures familiarity with the unprocessed information. The second step of the second stage, i.e. identifying themes within subsamples, refers to 1) comparing the summaries from one subsample and looking for recurrent

[344] This table is based on the one in Boyatzis, p. 44

[345] Boyatzis, p. 43

patterns/themes within the subsample; and 2) repeating the process using the other subsamples.[346]

As for the third step of the second stage, its goal is not only to compare themes across subsamples but also to compress the raw information into smaller "packets" which, while retaining most of the substance of the unprocessed data, are more manageable to work with. With regard to material that is comparatively short, the separation of the second and third step of the second stage may not be as clear as it is for larger bodies of data.[347] The fourth and fifth steps of the second stage refer to, respectively, the process of creating a code and the process of applying the code to another subsample of the larger sample.[348] The third and last stage of the process is related to applying the codes to the full sample. Once valid differences are determined, interpretation is possible.[349]

The main strength of the data-driven approach is that it employs, as extensively as possible, the way in which themes appear in the unprocessed data as the starting point in the code development process. As for validation, it is achieved through a cross-check within the entire sample.[350]

---

[346] *Ibid*., pp. 45-46

[347] *Ibid*., pp. 46-47

[348] *Ibid*., pp. 48-49

[349] *Ibid*., p. 43

[350] *Ibid*., p. 51

4.8.2.2. Thematic Analysis Used in This Study

The codes in this study were developed by following the stages and steps of the data-driven approach. First, subsamples (i.e., groups of students and teachers) were selected from the two samples represented by the 512 students and 67 teachers participating in the surveys, respectively (Steps 1 and 2 of Stage 1). Since the data collected from the student surveys is much larger and richer in themes than the data gathered from the teacher surveys, the majority of codes were created from the raw information contained in the student surveys. More specifically, the raw information which served as the basis of the code development, comes primarily from students' responses to two of the open-ended questions, namely "What do you know about Morocco?" and "What do you know about Islam?". Because the main objective of these two questions was to extract information disclosing perceptions and attitudes, particularly negative ones, responses that do not indicate any of these are not included in the analysis. These responses can be roughly divided into three groups:

1) Answers that consist of quantitatively words and lack substance. Examples: "nothing"; "almost everything"; "[I] know everything"; "[I] know many things but now do not have time to explain"; "little"; [I] do not remember very well"; "much"; etc.

2) Answers that repeat parts of the questions and do not provide any additional information. Examples: "people, culture, language"; "history, people, culture, language"; "people, language"; [I] know a little about its geography and its culture."; "people many and few words"; "people and their religion"; etc.

3) Answers that provide some information but are very neutral, i.e. not indicative of any particular perceptions and/or attitudes. Examples: "the Atlas mountains"; "that the second language of Morocco is French"; "yes [it] is in Africa"; "The sacred book is Quran. Their god is Allah"; etc.

After the raw information from the two questions was reduced to responses or parts of responses indicative of certain perceptions and/or attitudes (Step 1 of Stage 2), themes were identified within the subsamples (Step 2 of Stage 2) and subsequently compared across subsamples (Step 3 of Stage 2). Then, the following codes (including their five essential elements) were developed (Step 4 of Stage 2):[351]

Code 1

Label – "Different"

Definition – The person describes Morocco, its culture, languages, people, customs, traditions, religions (in particular, Islam), etc. as "different."

Indicators – Coded when the person uses the following words and expressions: "different," "different from," "very different," "super different," "another," "other forms of," "instead of," "not like," etc. Coded also when the person compares, more or less directly, aspects of Morocco and/or Islam, on one hand, and aspects of Spanish/European/Western/Christian culture, on the other.

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

[351] The presentation of the codes below is based on the one found in Boyatzis, pp. 90-96

Examples – "That they speak another language, another culture, another customs, and other forms of living"; "[…] that it is a religion different from the Catholic";[352] "[…] their culture is very different […]"; "Their culture is very different from ours […]"; "[They] have a mosque instead of a church"; "[they] do things of Muslims not like the Spanish."

Code 2

Label – Conquest of Spain

Definition – The person mentions the invasion/conquest of Spain, the Iberian Peninsula and/or Andalusia by the Moroccans.

Indicators – Coded when the person writes that "they" (Moroccans) "invaded" or "conquered" (parts of) Spain or the Iberian Peninsula.

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

Examples – "That they invaded the Iberian Peninsula, Andalusia as they would call it."; "I know that "before" they invaded Spain […]"; "[They] conquered part of Spain for centuries."; "[They] conquered Spain from South to North […]"; "That [they] came to Spain to invade it, such things."

Code 3

Label – Morocco and Islam

[352] A few notes on translating and citing responses from the surveys: 1) For the most part, I have translated word by word in order to preserve the original meaning as much as possible; 2) I have corrected only the obvious spelling mistakes; 3) I have used […] to indicate that the cited passage is part of a longer text and that there is some text before and/or after it; 4) I have used [ ] to insert words that can be omitted in Spanish but not in English, e.g. personal pronouns which, in Spanish, are understood from the respective verb conjugation.

Definition – The person relates Morocco and its people with Islam.

Indicators – Coded when the person writes that the religion of Morocco and/or Moroccans is Islam, that Moroccans are Muslims, or (as in a couple of cases) associates Morocco with Allah.

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

Examples – "I know that it is a mostly Muslim country […]"; "That they have Muslim religion."; "[…] the god of Morocco is Allah."; "Some gods; religions like for example Allah […]"; "[they] practice the Muslim religion […]"; "that [they] are Muslims"; "That Morocco enters Islam and because of that [they] go to the mosque […]"; "[It] is the religion of Moroccans."

Code 4

Label – Distinguishing features of Islam

Definition – The person writes about some of the specific characteristics of Islam, its spread, and its importance.

Indicators – Coded when the person mentions some of the unique features of Islam, such as:

Exclusion – Three groups of responses related to the distinguishing features of Islam are excluded from this code. The first group consists of responses that contain such themes as the religiosity of Muslims, the strictness and/or authoritarianism of Islam. These constitute part of the following code, Code 5. The second group includes responses that are markedly negative or positive. These are parts of Code 14A and

Code 14C, respectively. The third group is composed of answers which contain factually incorrect information. Those are part of Code 15.

Examples – "[It] is a monotheistic religion, [it] is one of the three big/great[353] religions, of the newest ones."; "Islam has like 5 pillars: the worship of Allah"; "That [it] is a religion that many people have"; "that all Muslims believe in Allah and that celebrate quite a lot of holidays"; "The people who practice it are called Muslims. They exist in Asia, Africa. Their god is Muhammad."[354]; "That [they] dedicate themselves to one religion believe in a single god"; "Islam is almost in all Asia and little in Europe"; "[they] say that Muhammad was a prophet"; "that [it] is not polytheist, there are not many gods, their god is Allah […]"; "[it] is the religion that predominates in the Middle East."; "[It] is one of the 3 most important religions […]."

Code 5

Label – Religiosity, strictness, authoritarianism

Definition – The person describes Muslims as very religious, or Islam as a strict or authoritarian religion.

Indicators – Coded when the person writes that Muslims are "quite religious" or "very religious" and/or that Islam is "very strict" or "very authoritarian."

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

---

[353] The word used by the student is "grandes".

[354] This response is part of both Code 4 and Code 15 because it contains a factually incorrect piece of information.

Examples – "[they] are very religious"; "Very religious, Muslim religion, very strict […]"; "that [it] is a very authoritarian religion"; "[It] is a very strict religion"; "[…] people dress women very religiously with hijab."[355]

Code 6

Label - Quran

Definition – The person not only mentions the Quran in relation to Islam (or Morocco) but he/she also adds details that can easily be subject to various interpretations.

Indicators – (There are no general indicators for this code because the number of instances is very small, i.e. 3.)

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

Examples – "One has to read Quran every day"; "That the sacred book of Islamists is Quran"; "[they] have a small book, the Quran."

Code 7

Label – Dietary specifics (pork, etc.)

Definition – The person identifies specific characteristics of Muslims' diet.

Indicators – Coded when the person refers to some of these dietary specifics, such as: abstinence from pork consumption and alcohol drinking, typical dishes (e.g., couscous) and drinks (e.g., mint tea).

Exclusion – Responses related to Ramadan are excluded because they constitute part of next code, Code 8.

[355] This response also constitutes part of Code 9.

Examples – "People do not eat pork […]"; "[they] cannot eat pork […]"; "Their religion prohibits them from eating pork."; "[they] eat couscous"; "[They] do not eat pork. Because it carries many diseases."; "[They] do not eat pork for religious matters…"; "Usually [they] eat with many vegetables. [They] cannot eat pork (Muslims)."; "[…] some foods like couscous, mint tea…"; "[I] do not know anything [they] have told me that [they] cannot drink, nor [can they] eat pork"; "[they] do not eat pork and cannot drink alcohol nor things that contain it."; "[they] do not eat pork, and do not drink wine"; "That [they] cannot eat ham […]"; "[It] does not permit you to eat pork, and like chicken and meat have to be blessed"; "Islam does not permit you to eat pork meat."; "[they] cannot eat pork meat and beef if it is not blessed."; "[you] do not have to eat pork, neither alcohol nor smoking […]"; "The lamb holiday that a lamb is eaten Ramadan that one does not eat during one month and when the sun goes down."[356]

Code 8

Label – Ramadan

Definition – The person not only mentions Ramadan with regard to Islam (or Morocco) but he/she also adds details related to it.

Indicators – Coded when the person writes about Ramadan and things associated with it.

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

[356] This example is also part of the following code, i.e. Code 8.

Examples – "[they] do Ramadan (1 month without eating)"; "[…] they cannot eat anything [during] Ramadan"; "That [they] do Ramadan, that is, that [they] cannot eat until the night"; "[they] have to do Ramadan one month a year […]"; "That [they] do Ramadan, and kill a lamb"; "The traditional holiday is Ramadan and one tries to do more or less like a diet."; "The lamb holiday that a lamb is eaten Ramadan that one does not eat during one month and when the sun goes down"; "Women's ankle should not be seen and the hair and the breasts. If a girl already has her period has to do the entire Ramadan and if [during] Ramadan she gets it has to stop and [return/give back] the days when [it] ends."[357]

Code 9

Label – Clothing (mainly women)

Definition – The person identifies specific characteristics of Islamic clothing, especially Muslim women's clothing.

Indicators – Coded when the person mentions a particular piece of Islamic clothing (e.g., headscarf, veil, hijab, and burqa) or a certain rule related to clothing (e.g., women have to wear headscarves, people cannot wear short clothes, women's ankle should not be seen, etc.).

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code,)

Examples – "[…] and [people] cannot wear short clothes."; "[…] women have to wear headscarf […]"; "[I] know that people of Islam wear like sheets on their head for their religion"; "Women wear burqa […]"; "(some) wear a headscarf on their head […]";

[357] This example constitutes also part of Code 9.

"[…] many women wear a headscarf […]"; "[…] women cover their face […]"; "[…] people dress women very religiously with hijab"; "That women have to use a veil […]"; "[…] girls cannot use short clothes."; "[…] women are very covered and with a veil […]"; "[…] the head of women cannot be seen"; "[…] women wear a black headscarf which covers their whole face and a dress, all black"; "[…] women have to put on a headscarf because of respect for Allah the god of sun […]"[358]; "[we] always go with a headscarf on the head. [We] do not go without a headscarf…"; "[you] have to go covered […]"; "That [they] cannot pray with short pants because the knees should not be seen"; "Women's ankle should not be seen and the hair and the breasts. If a girl already has her period has to do the entire Ramadan and if [during] Ramadan she gets it has to stop and [return/give back] the days when [it] ends."

Code 10

Label – Gender relations

Definition – The person describes relations between Muslim men and women.

Indicators – Coded when the person mentions men's attitudes towards women, women roles in society, and/or any restrictions imposed on them within the context of Islam.

Exclusion – Responses that contain information about polygamy are excluded. They constitute part of the following code, Code 11.

Examples – "[I know] that they are not very respectful of women […]"; "[…] women depend on men […]"; "[…] inequality of gender […]"; "[…] Morocco has a culture a

[358] This example is also part of Code 15.

bit harsh with women […]"; "People that women cannot go out without their husbands or sons […]"; "That [they] are very sexist[359] […]"; "[Islam] does not respect women much"; "[…] women do not work […]"; "[Islam] prohibits women from going out alone in the street."; "[they] cannot have sexual relations until marriage (women)"[360]

Code 11

Label - Polygamy

Definition – The person mentions polygamy in relation with Islam (or Morocco).

Indicators – Coded when the person writes that Islam permits polygamy or that (Muslim) men can have more than one wife.

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

Examples – "[…] man can have more than one woman […]"; "[…] men practice polygamy."; "[…] and that polygamy is permitted"; "[it] permits polygamy"; "A man cannot marry more than 4 women and a woman cannot marry more than one man."; "[They] are permitted to have more than one wife […]."

Code 12

Label – Ceuta and Melilla

Definition – The person mentions Ceuta and Melilla.

Indicators – (There are no general indicators for this code because the number of instances is very small, i.e. 2.)

---

[359] The word used by the students is "machistas".

[360] This example constitutes also part of Code 14C.

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

Examples – "Ceuta and Melilla were Spanish colonies." and "[It] has two cities that belong to Spain (Ceuta and Melilla)."

Code 13A

Label – Information-rich responses: Morocco

Definition – The person provides much more detailed information about Morocco compared to the rest of the responses.

Indicators – Coded when the response is longer and the level of detail higher in comparison with the other responses.

Exclusion – Two types of longer and more detailed responses are not included in this code. The first group consists of responses that are indicative of certain perceptions related to Morocco. The second group is comprised of responses that are factually incorrect.

Examples – 1) "Part of Morocco was Spanish, the zone of Sahara; [it] was also a French protectorate. [It] is an Islamic country, [it] is a land rich in fruits such as dates, etc. The capital is Rabat, other very important cities are Casablanca and Marrakesh."; 2) "[It] is a country located in North Africa with desert climate, [it] has a poor economy in comparison with Europe, but rich in comparison with the rest of Africa. The history entails the sending of troops to Spain, which is known as Andalusia and which tried to invade Spain. In this country there is disequilibrium with disadvantage for women, with fewer opportunities than men (work…) the language of this country is mainly Arabic, French and a little Spanish."; 3) "The Muslim religion is practiced.

[It] is in Africa. [They] do Ramadan. Usually [they] eat with many vegetables. [They] cannot eat pork (Muslims). Life is generally in the countryside. The currency is dirham."; 4) "[It] is located in the north of Africa, its capital is Rabat and Casablanca is one of the biggest and most touristic cities. [It] was colonized by France and England but even so resisted, in the past belonged to the Jews and still there is a monarchy (Muhammad VI). There are very different cultures, people are very different in every part of Morocco and different dialects of Arabic are spoken (Moroccan Berber etc.); 5) "Geographically [it] is in North Africa, historically [it] was in the Middle Ages an Islamic empire ([I] believe Turkish), then [it] was a colony of France and Spain and Germany fought for it. There are different types of ethnic groups in Morocco but I do not remember what. Generally, the culture is Islamic but women are recognized. Arabic is spoken."

Code 13B

Label – Information-rich responses: Islam

Definition – The person provides much more detailed information about Islam compared to the rest of the responses. In addition, it is factually correct (for the most part) and comparatively neutral, i.e. there are no strong indications of certain perceptions and/or attitudes.

Indicators – Coded when the response is longer and the level of detail higher in comparison with the other responses.

Exclusion – Two types of longer and more detailed responses are not included in this code. The first group consists of responses that are indicative of certain perceptions

related to Islam. The second group is comprised of responses that are factually incorrect.

Examples – 1) "Islam is a religion, Islam is also my religion […]. One has to pray five times a day read Quran. Behave well not tell lies not drink alcohol not steal and do Ramadan when [you] are older in a house of Allah to Saudi Arabia in Mecca"; 2) "That [they] pray a lot, that [they] believe in one god, that [they] do not eat pork, that [they] do Ramadan, that [they] were in Spain, that [they] have invented many things, etc."; 3) "That [they] have to obey god, also a sacred book "Quran", [they] have to pray, not eat pork, not smoke, nor drink, go at least once to Mecca, give alms to the poor…"

Code 14A

Label – Exceptions (positive)

Definition – The person provides a response, usually longer and more detailed than the rest, which indicates positive perceptions of and/or attitudes towards Morocco/Moroccans and/or Muslims/Islam.

Indicators – Coded when the person uses words that have positive connotations, such as "polite", "hospitable", "good", "humble", "nice", "educated", "kind", etc., and/or when the meaning of the whole response is positive.

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

Examples – "I love the food of Morocco."; "[they] are very hospitable."; "[…] people offer you everything when you go to their house…"; "That [it] is empty (because of excess of people), [they] are polite although they take fast over the territory, [they] are

good people, clean, [I] like them very much, there is more than one language, [it] is very nice, [they are] a little poor but humble and with lots of ideas, and [they] always look for good excuses to tell to escape and [they] live misled/deceived"; "People very kind"; "[It] is a monotheistic religion. There is only one god: Allah. The last prophet of Islam is the prophet Muhammad. The main obligations are 5. [It] is the first religion that makes men and women equal. Islam is the religion of right and peace…"; "[I] believe that [it] is a very good religion, there are all the possibilities that we want."; "[I] believe that [it] is a very good religion."; "[It] is a religion in which the prophet is Muhammad and has like a sacred book the Quran, which was dictated by god to Muhammad. In the history of Islam there has been a lot of spilled blood. Before Islam girls who were born were a punishment, later Islam respects them although the contrary is believed."

Code 14B

Label – Exceptions (neutral)

Definition – The person provides a response, usually longer and more detailed than the rest, which contains piece(s) of information not found anywhere else (e.g., "[…] that they get married very young") and/or provides an important insight (e.g., "Two cents from here, Spain, there in Morocco, [we] can buy a stick of bread/French loaf."; also, some interesting patterns – see Table 53 in Chapter 5 - can be observed in the responses obtained from children attending the same school). The response is comparatively neutral, i.e. lacking indications of certain perceptions and attitudes.

Indicators – (There are no general indicators because the responses are relatively unique within the student sample and, therefore, no patterns can be traced.)

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

Examples – "[…] that they get married very young"; "In some parts people look for fight but Morocco is very quiet and with many tourists"; "Two cents from here, Spain, there in Morocco, [we] can buy a stick of bread/French loaf." "In Morocco Ramadan is done 1 month per year. There are Eid Kabir Eid Saghir. Every Friday couscous is made and water is given to the people in need. There is the Quran which lays what has to be done and what does not."; "History – Wars occur, where the leader has a dream or a vision."; "[It] is a religion, Muhammad is its messiah, Quran is its sacred book, and it has some similarity to the ancient Christian testament, [they] have holidays like the lamb holiday, Ramadan, etc."

Code 14C

Label – Exceptions (negative)

Definition – The person provides a response, usually longer and more detailed than the rest, which indicates negative perceptions of and/or attitudes towards Morocco/Moroccans and/or Muslims/Islam.

Indicators – Coded when the person uses words that have negative connotations, such as "steal", "thieves", "drugs", "sexist", "machismo", etc., and/or when the meaning of the whole response is negative.

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

Examples – "[they] cannot have sexual relations until marriage (women)"; "Machismo reigns."; "[I know] that they are very uncommunicative."[361]; "people who steal a lot and traffic drugs […]"; "Moroccans are people that there are some Muslims and also thieves"; "that, there are always wars there, people are poor"; "[Islam] is very sexist […] and [they] live misled, etc."

Code 15

Label – Factually incorrect

Definition – The person provides factually incorrect information.

Indicators – (There are no general indicators because the mistakes are quite diverse and, therefore, no patterns can be traced.)

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

Examples – "that Morocco is in Asia"; "little… [I] know that [it] is a language that is spoken and was spoken in other times"; "That [it] is a religion that Muhammad made."; "That Islam was the friend of god, god is only one there are no more gods"; "That [it] is a polytheist religion, [they] believe in Allah."; "[It] is the religion that some Muslims practice."; "The typical that people have like an obligation to visit Palestine for that of Mecca."; "[they] do not listen to music […]"; "Islam is religion number one of the world, [it has] one god and 124000 prophets. Muhammad is messenger of god"; "That [it/he] is a Moroccan"; "That Allah is their king […]"; "[…] the religion that is practiced is Islamism."

[361] The word the student uses is "cerrados", which literally means "closed."

The same procedure of code development was followed with regard to the teacher surveys. However, because of the much smaller sample and the lack of specific open-ended questions dealing with Moroccan students and Islam, the information gathered from the teacher surveys is size and number of themes. As a result, only one code was created, which is related to the discipline of Moroccan students at the schools. The raw information which does not constitute part of this code is laid out in Chapter 5 (see 5.2).

Code T1

Label – Discipline

Definition – The person writes about discipline-related problems with regard to students of Moroccan origin.

Indicators – Coded when the person describes Moroccan children (sometimes, mainly boys) as the group with the most serious discipline-related problems.

Exclusion – (Does not apply to this code.)

Examples – "It is hard for them to conform to norms and behavior at the time of resolving problems (conflicts). Assuming the role that [they] have. And resolving problems almost always in a violent way. Many cases inspired by the family context that surrounds them." (talking about Moroccans students); "[I] believe that the problems with performance and behavior of Moroccan boys and Muslims in general come from their culture."; "In general these groups with lowest performance is due to that [they] have not been schooled. Moroccan boys do not accept the norms of discipline easily."; "[Moroccan children] react with violence in the face of a conflict.";

"It is very hard for them to accept the rules and norms of the school. It is very hard for them to talk/have a conversation and develop emotional intelligence (boys)" (talking about Moroccan students).

When the codes were created (on the basis of a subsample), they were applied to other subsamples with the goal of achieving reliability (Step 5 of Stage II). After reliability was ensured, the code was applied to the whole sample (Step 1 of Stage III). Since the codes developed in this study are not appropriate for quantitative analysis, the validation with the entire sample was achieved through a cross-check in order to confirm that the codes identified are not just an episodic occurrence (Step 2 of Stage III). As for interpreting the results (Step 3 of Stage III), these are laid out in Chapter 5 (see 5.2).

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

All the data included in this chapter were collected in Barcelona in the period of February, 2009 – June 2009. Most of the data comes from the two surveys conducted at nine elementary and secondary schools. A small part of the data comes from government sources gathered during the same period of time, mainly from the Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació and Consorci d'Educació de Barcelona. The analysis of these data follows the order of the research questions. They are divided into two major groups, i.e. those that are subject to quantitative analysis and those that are subject to qualitative analysis.

5.1. Quantitative Part

The quantitative part of the surveys refers to the closed-ended and Likert scale questions. For their analysis, descriptive statistics have been used.

5.1.1. Numbers, Distribution and Concentration of Moroccan Students at Spanish Schools

The table below (Table 28)[362] provides a summary of the total number of students at each of the nine schools where the surveys were conducted. It also includes the total number of native students, the total number of foreign students, and the total number of Moroccan students at each of the schools.

[362] The data included in the table comes from the Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació.

Table 28. Total number of students at the nine schools participating in the surveys

Name of school	Total number of students	Total number of native students	Total number of foreign students	Total number of Moroccan students
CEIP Diego Velázquez (DV)	381	179	202	38
CEIP Federico García Lorca (GL)	431	68	363	76
CEIP El Greco (EG)	218	80	138	24
CEIP Miguel de Unamuno (MU)	223	96	127	46
(*Centro concertado*) Salvador Dalí (SD)	356	307	49	7
IES Miguel de Cervantes (MC)	565	188	377	33
IES Antoni Gaudí (AG)	450	304	146	13
IES Joan Miró (JM)	217	139	78	19
IES Pablo Picasso (PP)	235	37	198	20
Total number	3,076	1,398	1,678	276

As the table shows,[363] the total number of foreign students at the nine schools where the surveys were distributed is 1,678. This constitutes 54.55%, or more than the half, of all students at these schools. The Moroccan students are 8.97% of the whole student body and 16.45% of all foreign students at the nine schools. Of course, foreign and Moroccan students are not evenly distributed among these schools. In general, the percentage of foreign students at the four public elementary schools where the research was conducted is quite high but it ranges from around 53% at CEIP Diego

[363] These data were obtained from the Departament d'Educació in March, 2009 and they refer to the 2007-2008 academic year.

Velázquez (DV) to more than 84% at CEIP Federico García Lorca (GL) (see Table 23 below). However, whereas the percentages of foreign students at CEIP DV and CEIP Miguel de Unamuno (MU) are similar, i.e. 53.02% and 56.95% respectively, the percentages of Moroccan students at the two schools are quite different, i.e. 9.97% and 20.63% respectively. Thus, Moroccan students at CEIP DV constitute 18.81% of all foreign students at the school, while their counterparts at CEIP MU represent 36.22% of the school's foreign student body.

According to the data above, gathered from the Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació, the percentage of foreign students at least at some Spanish schools is very high. In fact, at all four elementary schools participating in the surveys the number of foreign students is bigger than the number of native students. As for the four secondary schools, the percentage of foreign students is higher than that of native students at two of them, IES MC and IES PP. The only school where the number of native students is significantly bigger than that of foreign students is the *centro concertado* SD.

The presence and distribution of Moroccan students at the four elementary, four secondary and the *centro concertado* are summarized in the following tables (Table 29, Table 30 and Table 31):

Table 29. Foreign and Moroccan students at the four public elementary schools

Name of school	Percent foreign students/total	Percent Moroccan students/total	Percent Moroccan students/ foreign students
CEIP Diego Velázquez (DV)	53.02%	9.97%	18.81%
CEIP Federico García Lorca (GL)	84.22%	17.63%	20.94%
CEIP El Greco (EG)	63.30%	11.01%	17.39%
CEIP Miguel de Unamuno (MU)	56.95%	20.63%	36.22%

The distribution of foreign and Moroccan students at the four public secondary schools participating in the surveys is more uneven in comparison to the elementary schools. The percentage of foreign students at these schools is still relatively high but the range is wider. Thus, for example, whereas foreign students at IES Antoni Gaudí (AG) are 32.44% of all students at the school, foreign students at IES Pablo Picasso (PP) constitute 84.26% of the school's student body (see Table 30 below). As for Moroccan students at the four secondary schools, their percentage is significantly lower compared to the percentage of Moroccan students at the four elementary schools. The percentages of Moroccan students at the secondary school range from 2.89% to 8.76% while the percentages of their elementary school counterparts range from 9.97% to 20.63%.

Table 30. Foreign and Moroccan students at the four public secondary schools

Name of school	Percent foreign students	Percent Moroccan students/total	Percent Moroccan students/foreign students
IES Miguel de Cervantes (MC)	66.73%	5.84%	8.75%
IES Antoni Gaudí (AG)	32.44%	2.89%	8.90%
IES Joan Miró (JM)	35.94%	8.76%	24.36%
IES Pablo Picasso (PP)	84.26%	8.51%	10.10%

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, of all nine schools that have participated in the surveys, only Salvador Dalí (SD) is a private school and a *centro concertado*. It is also the only one among the nine schools that provides elementary and secondary education. What is interesting about SD is that the percentage of foreign students at the school (13.76%) is significantly lower than the percentages of foreign students at the eight public (the four elementary and the four secondary) schools discussed above. As Table 31 below shows, the percentage of Moroccan students at the school is also the lowest of all nine schools.

Table 31. Foreign and Moroccan students at the private school/*centro concertado*

Name of school	Percent foreign students	Percent Moroccan students/total	Percent Moroccan students/foreign students
(Private) Salvador Dalí (SD)	13.76%	1.97%	14.29%

Based on the data laid out above, it can be concluded that there is significant presence of Moroccan students at, at least some, Spanish elementary and secondary public schools. Moroccan students are also represented, at least to a certain extent, at

Spanish private schools/*centros concertados*. The distribution of these students is quite uneven not only among schools of the different types (elementary vs. secondary, public vs. private) but also among schools of the same category (public elementary schools, public secondary schools, etc.). The table below (Table 32) summarizes the three smaller tables above (Tables 29-31) referring to the percentages of foreign and Moroccan students at, respectively, public elementary, public secondary, and private schools.

Table 32. Concentration of foreign and Moroccan students at the schools

Name of school	**Total percentage of foreign students in the school**	**Total percentage of Moroccan students in the school**	**Ratio Moroccan students/foreign students in the school (percentage)**
CEIP Diego Velázquez (DV)	53.02%	9.97%	18.81%
CEIP Federico García Lorca (GL)	84.22%	17.63%	20.94%
CEIP El Greco (EG)	63.30%	11.01%	17.39%
CEIP Miguel de Unamuno (MU)	56.95%	20.63%	36.22%
(Private) Salvador Dalí (SD)	13.76%	1.97%	14.29%
IES Miguel de Cervantes (MC)	66.73%	5.84%	8.75%
IES Antoni Gaudí (AG)	32.44%	2.89%	8.90%
IES Joan Miró (JM)	35.94%	8.76%	24.36%
IES Pablo Picasso (PP)	84.26%	8.51%	10.10%
Total	54.55%	8.97%	16.45%

As already mentioned, the distribution of foreign and Moroccan students by school is quite uneven and, according to the data gathered from the Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació, the school with the lowest percentage of foreign and Moroccan students is the *centro concertado* Salvador Dalí. These data confirm Jacott and Maldonado Rico's claim that immigrant children usually attend public schools, thus creating not only a significant disequilibrium but also ghettoization and seclusion in certain communities and districts. As Jacott and Maldonado Rico point out, the social polarization in Spain was revealed in a 2003 report by the Ombudsman. According to that report, 82% of immigrant students in the country attended public schools whereas the remaining 18% attended *centros concertados* during the 2001-2002 academic year. Jacott and Maldonado Rico argue that the proportion of immigrant students at public schools would be even higher if only immigrant children with blue-collar parents were included, since those from richer countries (namely, EU and OECD member states) attend primarily private schools and *centros concertados*.[364]

Based on the official data gathered from the Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació, the total percentage of foreign students at the *centro concertado* SD is only 13.76% and the total percentage of Moroccan students at the schools is only 1.97%. The data obtained from the surveys and summarized in Tables 17, Tables 18 and Table 19 (see 4.5.1.3) confirm this. The percentage of native students (i.e. students born in Spain) at the *centro concertado* SD (75.61%) is higher than that of native students at any other school participating in the surveys (elementary or secondary).

[364] Jacott and Maldonado Rico, p. 105

However, a closer look at these data gathered from the student surveys reveals a slightly different situation from the one suggested by the data provided by the Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació and from the one depicted by Jacott and Maldonado Rico.

While it is true that 62 of the 82 children (75.61%) who took part in the survey were born in Spain, only 26 of them (31.71%) were born to parents both of whom were born in Spain themselves. Of the remaining 36 students, 18 have parents from the Philippines, 4 have parents from Morocco, 2 have parents from Bangladesh, 2 have parents from Portugal, etc. Although the findings do not exactly confirm Jacott and Maldonado Rico's arguments related to disequilibrium and ghettoization, they raise some important questions: What has the term *native* meant, as used in government documents and scholarly articles? Does *native* refer to children born in Spain, to children who were born in Spain and whose parents were also born in Spain, or to somebody else? Is it possible to talk about some type of segregation, i.e. between foreign-born immigrant children, on one hand, and children born in Spain (regardless of their parents' origin)? Maybe, after all, it is possible to argue that there exists some kind of segregation with regard to Moroccan students born in their country of origin, as opposed to students born to Moroccan parenst in Spain. However, more data need to be gathered before any definitive conclusions can be drawn.

Questions about Moroccan students' numbers, distribution and concentration across schools were included in both the student and teacher surveys. The purpose of including such questions in the student survey was not to gather factual information, which had already been provided by the Generalitat de Catalunya Departament

d'Educació, but to see whether any signs or indications of particular perceptions, opinions and attitudes exist among students at Spanish schools. The first couple of questions, which concern Moroccan students and their numbers, have also the objective of finding out how aware children at Spanish schools are aware of Moroccan children's presence at the respective schools.

When asked whether there are any Moroccan boys and girls at their school, 504 of all 512 students who participated in the survey (98.44%) responded "yes". The negative responses were only six (1.17%) and two students did not answer (0.39%) (see Table 33 below).

Table 33. Presence of Moroccan children at the schools (student survey)[365]

Moroccan children in the school	**Number**	**Percent**	**Cumulative**
Yes	504	98.44%	98.44%
No	6	1.17%	99.61%
No response	2	0.39%	100.00%
Total	512	100.00%	

It is interesting to note that all the negative responses (a total of six) came from IES MC. Of the six children who provided these responses, three came from the Philippines to Spain in 2007, one came from Ecuador in 2007, one came from Bangladesh in 2004, and there is no information about the sixth one. Thus, it can be concluded that the majority of the children at the nine schools, including IES MC, are aware of the presence of Moroccan children at their schools. As for the few negative

[365] Here, (student survey) designates a question that comes from the student survey.

responses from students at IES MC, these could probably be explained (at least, to an extent) by the students' recent arrival in the country.

The second question in the survey, which asks the students about the number of Moroccan boys and girls at their school, has yielded a wide range of responses. Of all 512 students, 474 (92.58%) have responded. Of these 474 students, 184 (38.82%) have written "many", 64 (13.50%) have written "I do not know", 32 (6.75%) have written "34", 21 (4.43%) have written "20", 15 (3.16%) have written "25", and 13 (2.74%) have written "quite a bit"[366] (see Table 34 below). Among the less frequent answers, in descending order, are: 30, 15, 12, 13, 100, 10, 40 and 50. A few students have provided, respectively, the following answers: "a pile/lots", "half of the students," "a million", and "countless".

[366] The Spanish word used is "bastante", which can be translated in a number of ways, e.g. "lots of," "tons of," "enough," "more than enough," "plenty", etc.

Table 34. Number of Moroccan students at the schools (student survey)

Number of Moroccan students at the schools	Number	Percent
Many	184	38.82%
I do not know	64	13.50%
34	32	6.75 %
20	21	4.43%
25	15	3.16%
Quite a bit	13	2.74%
30	11	2.32%
15	10	2.11%
12	8	1.69%
13	7	1.48%
100	6	1.27%
10	6	1.27%
Other responses	97	20.46%
Total	474	100.00%

The distribution of answers by school is quite interesting. For example, all 32 students who responded to the question by saying "34" are from CEIP DV. Of the first 32 responses from students from SD, who are in the age range of 12 to 14, 29 responded by "many", two responded by "2", and one did not respond. Of all 52 students from CEIP MU, only one responded by "8". The remaining 51 (about 98%) responded by "many". The unusual consistency in the responses by the students from the two CEIPs and the *centro concertado* suggests that some of the surveys have not been completed individually and/or independently. A possible reason for this uniformity is the interference on part of teachers and/or principals who probably had the intention of providing consistent and/or reliable data.

As already mentioned above, the point of these questions was not to gather data about the number of Moroccan students at the nine schools[367] but, rather, to help detect any perceptions and/or stereotypes existing among students about Moroccan children and Moroccans in general. Although it can be argued that answers such as "quite a bit," "a pile/lots," "half of the students," "a million," and "countless" signify a negative perception and/or attitude, it is not possible to make a strong claim. Therefore, no conclusions can be drawn with regard to perceptions and stereotypes based on the data available. It is clear, however, that the overwhelming majority of students from all nine schools are aware of the presence of Moroccan children at their respective schools.

As for the teachers who took part in the survey, they provided quite diverse responses when asked what percentage of their students are Moroccans. Of all 67 teachers, 62 (92.54%) responded to this question. Thirteen of those who responded (20.97%) said "10%", 10 of them (16.13%) said "17%", 8 of them (12.90%) said "30%", 5 of them (8.06%) said "12%", 4 of them (6.45%) said "25%", and 4 of them (6.45%) said "40%" (see Table 35 below). The remaining responses, which are arranged by their frequency starting with the most frequent ones, include: 5%, 5-10%, 20%, 8%, 6%, 10-12%, etc.

[367] This type of data was obtained from the Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació (see Table 28 above).

Table 35. Percent Moroccan students at the schools (teacher survey)[368]

Percent Moroccan students at the schools	Number	Percent
10%	13	20.97%
17%	10	16.13%
30%	8	12.90%
12%	5	8.06%
25%	4	6.45%
40%	4	6.45%
5%	3	4.84%
5-10%	3	4.84%
20%	3	4.84%
8%	2	3.23%
6%	1	1.61%
10-12%	1	1.61%
15%	1	1.61%
24%	1	1.61%
32%	1	1.61%
35%	1	1.61%
45%	1	1.61%
Total	62	100.00%

Again, the distribution of responses by school is interesting. For instance, all 10 teachers from CEIP GL have written "17%". Of all 11 teachers from CEIP MU, 7 (63.63%) have said "30%" and of all 8 teachers from CEIP DV, 4 (50%) have said 10%. Once again, this could be contributed to teachers and/or principals' intent to provide consistent and/or reliable data. The teachers' responses, similarly to those

[368] Here, (teacher survey) designates a question that comes from the teacher survey.

given by students, indicate that there is a significant presence of Moroccan children at Spanish schools and that the school staff is aware of this.

When asked whether and, if so, how the number of their Moroccan students has changed compared to previous years, the majority of teachers indicated that the current numbers are similar to those from previous years. Of all 67 teachers who responded, 43 (64.18%) marked "similar" as their response and 18 (26.87%) marked "smaller" (Table 36). Only 4 marked "bigger" as their answer. No variations and patterns were detected in the responses in terms of teachers' school affiliation and/or years of teaching experience at the respective school.

Table 36. The number of "your" Moroccan students at the school compared to previous years (teacher survey)

The number of "your" Moroccan students at the schools compared to previous years	Number	Percent	Cumulative
Much smaller	1	1.49%	1.49%
Smaller	18	26.87%	28.36%
Similar	43	64.18%	92.54%
Bigger	4	5.97%	98.51%
Much bigger	0	0.00%	98.51%
I do not know	1	1.49%	100.00%
Total	67	100.00%	

5.1.2. Teachers and Staff of Moroccan Origin at Spanish Schools

Both the student and teacher surveys include questions regarding the staff working at the schools in the sample. These questions are grounded in Portes and Rumbaut's study (2001), in which the scholars use the experience of Cuban immigrant children in the United States to argue that a "secure environment"[369] at school is essential for those children's academic performance, integration and chances for socioeconomic advancement. By "secure environment", they refer not only to the school curriculum, which comprises subjects such as Cuban geography and history, but also to the school environment which is characterized by the presence of teachers of Cuban origin. Therefore, the purpose of the survey questions regarding school staff of Moroccan origin is to determine whether the schools that participated in the survey provide the kind of "secure environment" described in Portes and Rumbaut's study.

Of all 512 students, 493 (96.29%) wrote "no" as their responses when asked whether they have any Moroccan teachers (Table 37). Only 13 (2.54%) have said "yes". Five students did not respond and one said "I do not know".

Table 37. Presence of Moroccan teachers at the schools (student survey)

Presence of Moroccan teachers at the schools	Number of students	Percent	Cumulative
Yes	13	2.54%	2.54%
No	493	96.29%	98.83%
I do not know	1	0.20%	99.03%
No response	5	0.98%	100.00%
Total	512	100.00%	

[369] See p. 126

Of those 13 who said that they do have Moroccan teachers, twelve responded to the question related to the number of Moroccan teachers. Nine of them (75%) said that they have one teacher. Three students have said that they have, respectively, 3, 8, and 10 teachers (Table 38).

Table 38. Number of Moroccan teachers at the schools (student survey)

Number of Moroccan teachers at the schools	Number of students	Percent	Cumulative
1	9	75.00%	75.00%
3	1	8.33%	83.33%
8	1	8.33%	91.67%
10	1	8.33%	100.00%
Total	12	100.00%	

A total of 16 students responded to the question of what (subjects) Moroccan teachers teach. Their responses are summarized in the table below.

Table 39. Subjects taught by Moroccan teachers at the schools (student survey)

Subjects taught by Moroccan teachers at the schools	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
Arabic	2	12.50%	12.50%
Moroccan	2	12.50%	25.00%
Arabic, Islam, Quran	1	6.25%	31.25%
To read Arabic and Quran	1	6.25%	37.50%
To speak in his/her language	1	6.25%	43.75%
The language, conjugation, etc.	1	6.25%	50.00%
Catalan	1	6.25%	56.25%
The history of Morocco, environment	1	6.25%	62.50%
They teach me to write and speak	1	6.25%	68.75%
They help me do homework	1	6.25%	75.00%
To know things to surf internet and use other programs	1	6.25%	81.25%
Nothing good	1	6.25%	87.50%
Prostitution	1	6.25%	93.75%
(Irrelevant response – "1")	1	6.25%	100.00%
Total	16	100.00%	

When asked approximately how many teachers at their school are Moroccans, the large majority of teachers have responded "0". Of all 67 teachers participating in the survey, 61 have answered this question (Table 40). 58 of them (95.08%) have said "0", two have said "1", and one has said that there are none with the exception of one out-of-school teacher.

Table 40. Number of Moroccan teachers at the schools (teacher survey)

Number of Moroccan teachers at the schools	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
0	58	95.08%	95.08%
0, 1 out-of-school	1	1.64%	96.72%
1	2	3.28%	100.00%
Total	61	100.00%	

In response to the question of what these Moroccan teachers teach, all four teachers who have answered have said "Arabic" (Table 41). Two of them have said that it is extracurricular Arabic and one of these two has explained that it is taught to students and teachers. Two of the four teachers (who have said, respectively, "Arabic" and "Extracurricular Arabic to students and teachers") are from CEIP DV and the other two (who have said, respectively, "Arabic" and "Extracurricular Arabic") are from CEIP GL.

Table 41. Subjects taught by Moroccan teachers at the schools (teacher survey)

Subjects taught by Moroccan teachers at the schools	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
Extracurricular Arabic to students and teachers	1	25%	25%
Extracurricular Arabic	1	25%	50%
Arabic	2	50%	100%
Total	4	100.00%	

Based on the results from the student and teacher surveys, it can be concluded that there are hardly any Moroccan teachers at Spanish schools. Even if there are Moroccan teachers at some of the schools, they teach primarily Arabic courses, which

generally constitute part of schools' extracurricular activities. Also, according to the survey responses, Arabic classes are offered only at two of the nine schools, which happen to be elementary schools. This means that no Arabic classes are available to students and teachers at any of the four public secondary schools or the *centro conertado*.

It is important to note that some of the student responses are not very reliable and need to be treated with caution. They also have to be examined within the context of the whole survey, i.e. other variables need to be taken into consideration. Thus, for example, the three children who have responded "3", "8", and "10" respectively to the question of how many Moroccan teachers they have are all of Arabic origin (see Table 38). The first child, who attends CEIP MU, goes to Arabic classes and her parents are both from Morocco. The second one, who attends CEIP GL, has attended or has been attending Arabic school. His mother is from Melilla and his father is from Algeria. The third one, who attends CEIP MU, has also attended or has been attending an Arabic school, as well as her parents are both from Morocco. Therefore, these children's responses do not refer to the number of teachers at the respective elementary schools but to the Arabic schools that they have attended or that they are attending.

There are also students who misunderstood some questions and, as a result, their responses are misleading. For instance, several students must have thought that the question "Qué es lo que enseñan?"[370] refers not only to Moroccan teachers but to teachers at their schools in general. This would explain certain responses, such as:

[370] This literally means "What is it that [they] teach?" and is translated here as "What do they teach?"

"Catalan," "They help me do homework," and "To know things to surf internet and use other programs." In addition, it is not clear whether the only two really negative responses to this question (i.e. "Nothing good" and "Prostitution") refer specifically to Moroccan teachers, to teachers in general, or are just indicative of certain adolescent attitudes.

In response to the question of whether they know any Moroccans working at their school, the large majority of students have written "no" as their response. Of all 512 students, 406 (79.30%) have said "no" and 47 (9.18%) have said "yes" (Table 42). 52 students (10.16%) have provided no response, 2 have said that they do not know, and one has said "no way/absolutely not".

Table 42. Presence of Moroccan employees at the school (student survey)

Presence of Moroccan employees at the school	Number	Percent	Cumulative
Yes	47	9.18%	9.18%
No	406	79.30%	88.48%
I do not know	2	0.39%	88.87%
One	4	0.78%	89.65%
No way/Absolutely not	1	0.20%	89.85%
No response	52	10.16%	100.00%
Total	512	100.00%	

Four students have said "one", which would mean that they do know Moroccans who work at their schools. Thus, the total number of those saying "yes" would be 51, or 9.96% of all students. Of all these students who know Moroccans working at their

school, 46 have responded to the next question in the survey, i.e. about what these Moroccans do. Their responses are summarized in the table below (Table 43).

Table 43. Titles and functions of Moroccan employees at the schools (student survey)

Titles and functions of Moroccan employees at the schools	Number of students	Percent	Cumulative
Cleaning	21	45.65%	45.65%
Teach Arabic	9	19.57%	65.22%
Teach Moroccan	3	6.52%	71.74%
Workers	2	4.35%	76.09%
Teachers	2	4.35%	80.44%
Teach about Morocco	1	2.17%	82.61%
Teach the language	1	2.17%	84.78%
Soccer teacher	1	2.17%	86.95%
Others	6	13.04%	100.00%
Total	46	100.00%	

As the table shows, 21 (45.65%) of all 46 students who responded to the question said “cleaning”, 9 (19.57%) said “teach Arabic”, 3 (6.52%) said “teach Moroccan”, 2 (4.35%) said “workers”, and 2 (4.35%) said “teachers”. The remaining 9 responses are, respectively: “teach about Morocco”, “teach the language”, “soccer teacher”, “study”, “students”, “company”, “waiters/bellboys”, “phone shop”, and “I do not know”. In fact, 20 (95.24%) of the 21 students who have said “cleaning” are from CEIP EG.

With regard to the question about the number Moroccans who work at their school, only 34 (50.75%) of all 67 teachers responded. Of these 34 teachers, 27 (79.41%) have said that there are no Moroccans working at their school. 7 (20.59%) teachers have indicated that there are Moroccans who work at their schools. One of these 7 teachers, who is from CEIP GL, has said that there is an out-of-school teacher at the school. Another one of these 7 teachers, who is from CEIP EG, has said that there is a cleaning person working at the school.

Table 44. Number of Moroccans working at the schools (teacher survey)

Number of Moroccans working at the schools	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
0	27	79.41%	79.41%
1	5	14.71%	94.12%
1 out-of-school teacher	1	2.94%	97.06%
Somebody cleaning	1	2.94%	100.00%
Total	34	100.00%	

Only 8 teachers have responded to the question about what the Moroccans working at their school do. Of the 8 teachers, 3 have said “Arabic” and one of them has mentioned that it is extracurricular Arabic. Two have said “cleaning” and the last two have said “dining hall”.

Table 45. Titles and functions of Moroccan employees at the schools (teacher survey)

Titles and functions of Moroccan employees at the schools	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
Arabic	3	37.50%	37.50%
Cleaning	3	37.50%	75.00%
Dining hall	2	25.00%	100.00%
Total	8	100.00%	

Based on the data summarized in the tables above regarding Moroccan staff and employees at Spanish schools, it can be concluded that, even at schools with significant presence of Moroccan children, either there are none or there are very few Moroccan teachers. In fact, all the children from IES AG, IES JM, IES PP and the *centro concertado* SD, who participated in the survey, said that they do not have Moroccan teachers. Although one or two children of all the children from IES MC, CEIP EG and CEIP DV who participated in the surveys said that they have Moroccan teachers, their responses are unreliable, judging from their responses to the following question.[371] Therefore, as far as the presence of Moroccan teachers at the nine schools is concerned, it is not possible to talk about the kind of "secure environment" described by Portes and Rumbaut in their study.

Another conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that the majority of Moroccans who work at Spanish schools and who are not teachers of Arabic are

[371] The only one child from CEIP EG who said he has Moroccan teachers wrote "prostitution" in response to the question of what these Moroccan teachers teach. One of the two children from IES MC who said that they have Moroccan teachers wrote that these teachers help her do her homework (see Table 33).One of the two children from CEIP DV who said that they have Moroccan teachers wrote that these teachers teach her "to know things to surf internet and use other programs" (see Table 33).

employed in custodial and food services. Thus, based on the empirical evidence laid out in Chapter 3, it can be argued that the underrepresentation of Moroccans at Spanish schools in their capacity as teachers of diverse subjects, combined with their presence at some schools only in their capacity as Arabic teachers and/or custodial and food services staff, can have a significant impact on both Moroccan and non-Moroccan students. On one hand, the limited presence of Moroccans at Spanish schools and their occupations there can affect negatively Moroccan children's self-perception, self-esteem, level of motivation, goals and, subsequently, academic performance and chances for upward social mobility. On the other hand, this situation can create and/or emphasize certain perceptions, stereotypes, and attitudes among native and other immigrant students.[372]

5.1.3. The Extent to Which Students in Spanish Classrooms Study about Morocco and Morocco-Related Topics

The questions in the student survey regarding students' exposure to subjects related to Morocco are also grounded in Portes and Rumbaut's study and, in particular, their "secure environment" argument mentioned above. The goal of these questions is to determine whether and to what extent students at the nine schools are exposed to subjects related to Morocco, its geography, history, culture, etc. as part of their regular[373] classes. Similar to what is discussed in the previous paragraph about the presence of Moroccan teachers, the dissemination of Morocco and Moroccans-related

[372] These arguments are further developed in Chapter 6.

[373] By "regular", I mean classes that are part of the compulsory curriculum, as opposed to extracurricular classes and other activities.

knowledge in Spanish classrooms can have a significant impact on both Moroccan and non-Moroccan students.[374]

The majority, 482 (94.14%) of the 512 students, responded to the question about how much they study at school about Morocco, its geography, history, people, culture, languages, and religion. Of these 482 students, 216 (44.18%) marked "nothing" as their response, 91 (18.88%) marked "little", 72 (14.94%) marked "very little", and 63 (13.07%) marked "neither much nor little" (Table 46).

Table 46. Students' responses to the question of how much they study about Morocco and Morocco-related topics at school (student survey)

Students' degree of exposure to Morocco-related knowledge at the schools		**Number of students**	**Percent**	**Cumulative**	
Much (1)		14	2.90%	2.90%	
Much (1); Quite a bit (2)[375]		2	0.41%	3.32%	
Quite a bit (2)		24	4.98%	8.30%	
Neither much nor little (3)		63	13.07%	21.37%	
Little (4)		91	18.88%	40.25%	
Very little (5)		72	14.94%	55.19%	
Nothing (6)		216	44.18%	100.00%	
Total		482	100.00%		
Variable	**Observations**	**Mean**	**Stand. Deviation**	**Min**	**Max**
Students' degree of exposure to Morocco-related knowledge at the schools	482	4.717842	1.431112	1	6

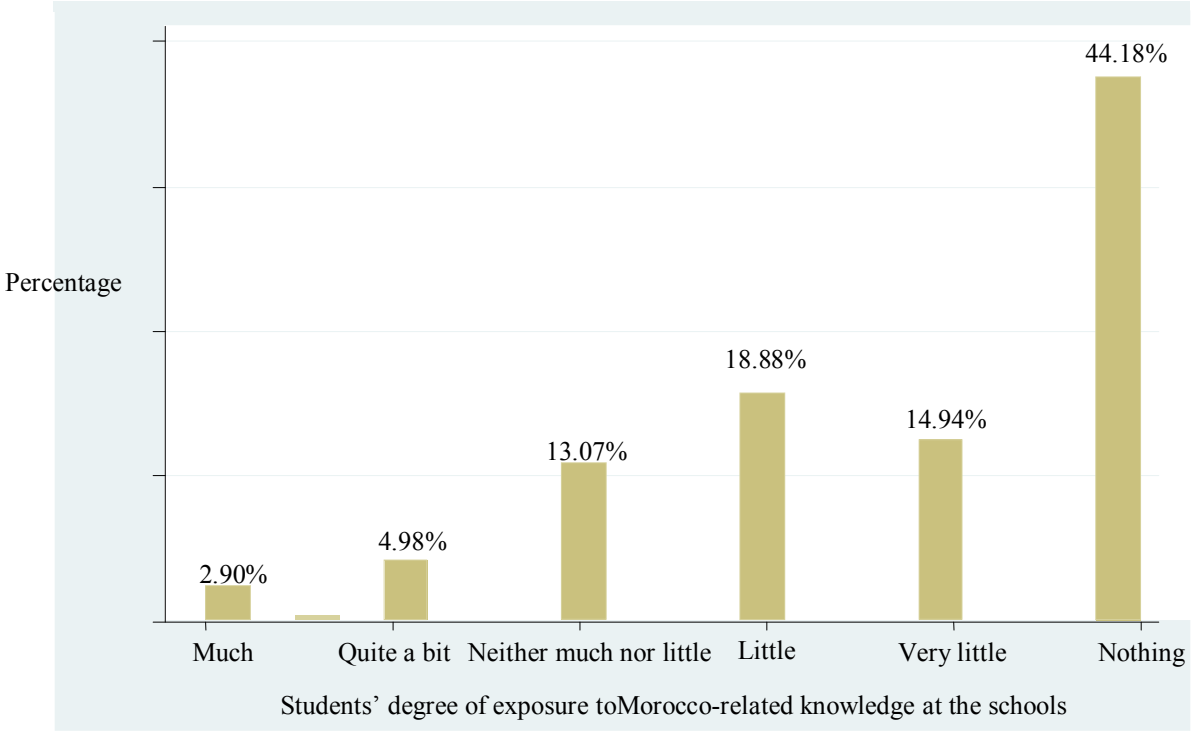
[374] See the paragraph above.

[375] When there are two different responses in the same box, this means that some of the students have marked more than one response on their surveys.

The possible responses, which range from “much” to “nothing”, have been assigned numbers from 1 to 6. Thus, a mean of about 4.72 has been derived, where 4 stands for “little” and 5 for “very little”.

The responses to the question above are also illustrated by the histogram below.

Figure 13. Students’ degree of exposure to Morocco-related knowledge at the schools (student survey)



A total of 442 students (86.33%) have answered the question about where and how they learned what they know about Morocco. The possible answers the students could mark were seven (i.e., “at school”, “from TV”, “from movies”, “from your parents”, “from your relatives”, “from your friends”, and “somewhere else”) and they could

mark all those that would apply to them.[376] The responses are summarized in the table below (Table 47).

Table 47. Students' sources of information related to Morocco (students survey)

Students' sources of information related to Morocco	Number of students	Percent
At school	241	54.52%
From TV	158	35.75%
From movies	92	20.82%
From your parents	126	28.51%
From your relatives	57	12.90%
From your friends	312	70.59%
Somewhere else	66	14.93%

As the table shows, for 312 (70.59%) out of the 442 students who have responded to this question, their friends constitute their main source of information related to Morocco. The second major source of information is the school, as indicated by 241 (54.52%) of the students. 158 students (35.75%) have marked "TV" as their response, 126 (28.51%) have marked "parents", 92 (20.82%) have marked "movies", and 57 (12.90%) have marked "relatives". 66 of the students (14.93%) have indicated that they (also) have other sources of information. Among these other sources that students have listed, in descending order by their frequency, are: "street", "Morocco", "Arabic school", "mosque", "books", and "Barcelona". Some of them have said "home",

[376] Because of this, the cumulative percentage would be well above 100% and, therefore, it is excluded from the table below.

"home country", "own culture", etc. referring to Morocco, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and/or Islam.

When asked in what class(es) they have studied anything about Morocco, 404 (78.91%) out of all 512 responded. The most frequent responses are summarized in the table below (Table 48). As this table shows, 179 (44.31%) of the 404 students have said "social sciences", which primarily include geography and history. 138 (34.16%) have said that they do not study anything about Morocco in any of the classes. 53 (13.12%) have written "religion" as their response. Some of the other responses, which are arranged in descending order by their frequency, include: "elementary school", "Arabic school", "religious culture", "Spanish", "Arabic", "history of religion", and "alternativa". Some students have also given the following responses: "Moroccan school", "ethics", "Spanish literature", "Catalan", "English", "mosque class", "mathematics", "natural sciences", etc. These last ones are not included in the table because the frequency of their occurrence is low, i.e. these responses occur only once or twice.

Table 48. Courses in which students study about Morocco (student survey)

Courses in which student study about Morocco	Number of students	Percent
Social sciences (geography and history)	179	44.31%
None	138	34.16%
Religion	53	13.12%
Elementary school	8	1.98%
Arabic school	7	1.73%
Religious culture	7	1.73%
Spanish	4	0.99%
Arabic	3	0.74%
History of religion	3	0.74%
Others	3	0.74%

Based on the data laid out in Table 46 (see above), the majority of students at the nine schools participating in the surveys (i.e. 78%) study little, very little, or nothing about Morocco, its geography, history, people, culture, languages, and religion. A closer examination of the data provided by students from individual schools did not reveal any patterns, tendencies, and/or discrepancies. The majority of students at any of the nine schools, who took part in the surveys, marked "little," "very little," or "nothing" in response to the question about how much they study about Morocco and Morocco-related topics (see Table 49 below). The only school with a significantly higher total percentage of such responses is IES PP. However, this outlier confirms rather than contradicts the findings, i.e. students at Spanish schools study little, very little, or hardly anything about Morocco and Morocco-related topics. Therefore, as far as students' exposure to Morocco-related subjects in regular classes is concerned, it is

not possible to talk about the type of "secure environment" depicted by Portes and Rumbaut in their study.

Table 49. Distribution of negative responses[377] to the question of how much students study about Morocco and Morocco-related topics at school

School	Response (percentage)			
	"Little"	"Very little"	"Nothing"	Total Percentage
CEIP DV	2.50%	2.50%	77.50%	82.50%
CEIP GL	13.46%	3.85%	44.23%	61.54%
CEIP EG	6.98%	2.33%	58.14%	67.45%
CEIP MU	7.69%	13.46%	50.00%	71.15%
Centro concertado SD	31.58%	24.56%	12.28%	68.42%
IES MC	13.91%	10.43%	46.96%	71.30%
IES AG	25.00%	16.67%	35.42%	77.09%
IES JM	55.56%	7.41%	11.11%	74.08%
IES PP	15.09%	43.40%	33.96%	92.45%

In addition, although more than half of all the students who participated in the survey (54.52%) marked "school" as one of their sources of information about Morocco (see Table 47 above), this percentage might be misleading. Since many of the students who included "school" among their response were born and lived in other parts of the world before their arrival in Spain, some of them also attended schools in their countries for a certain period of time. Thus, it does not become clear if those students refer to their Spanish school(s) or to the schools they attended prior to their arrival in the country.

[377] Here, "negative responses" is used as a collective term for the following responses: "little," "very little," and "nothing."

The teacher survey also included questions regarding subjects related to non-Western, particularly Moroccan, cultures. Their objective was to compare teachers' and students' responses, identify, and explain the existence of any correspondences or discrepancies between them.

The majority, 62 (92.54%) out of all 67 teachers, have responded to the question about whether enough is taught at their school about the geography, history, culture, religion, languages, etc., of the countries which are not part of the "western world". Of the 62 teachers, 27 of them (43.55%) have indicated that they neither agree nor disagree with the statement that enough about these topics is taught at their school. 18 (29.03%) agree with this, 11 (17.74%) disagree, 5 (8.06%) completely agree, and 1 (1.16%) completely disagrees (Table 50).

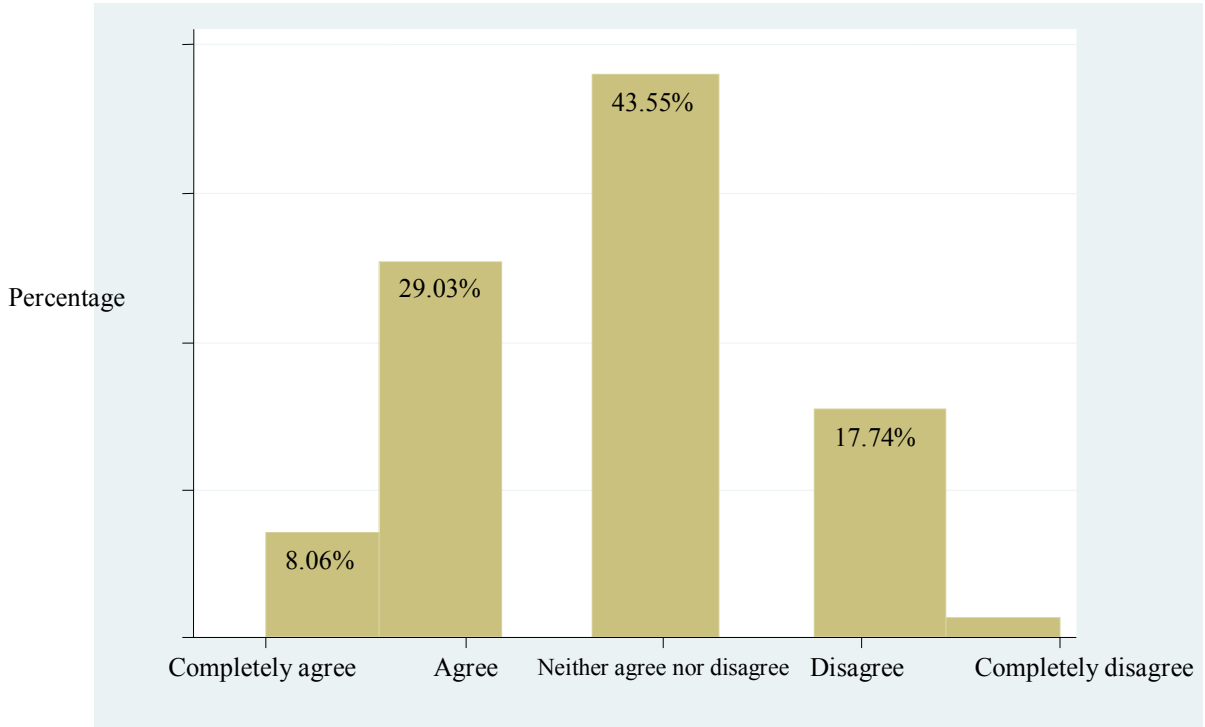
Table 50. Teachers' opinions regarding the statement that, at the schools, enough is taught about the geography, history, culture, religion, languages, etc., of the countries which are not part of the "western world" (teacher survey)

Teachers' opinions regarding the statement that, at the schools, enough is taught about the geography, history, culture, religion, languages, etc., of the countries which are not part of the "western world"	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
Completely agree	5	8.06%	8.06%
Agree	18	29.03%	37.10%
Neither agree nor disagree	27	43.55%	80.65%
Disagree	11	17.74%	98.39%
Completely disagree	1	1.61%	100.00%
Total	62	100.00%	

No patterns, tendencies or discrepancies were found with regard to the teachers' responses summarized in the table above. The eleven teachers who disagree with the statement come from and, therefore, represent three different types of school, i.e. five of them teach at public elementary schools, five of them teach at public secondary schools and one of them teaches at a private school/*centro concertado*.

The histogram below illustrates the teachers' responses to this question.

Figure 14. Teachers' opinions regarding the statement that, at the schools, enough is taught about the geography, history, culture, religion, languages, etc., of the countries which are not part of the "western world" (teacher survey)



At your school, it is taught enough about the geography, history, culture, religion, languages, etc., of the countries which are not part of the "western world"?

The majority, 63 (94.03%) out of all 67 teachers, have responded to the question about whether enough is taught at their school about Morocco, its people, culture,

geography, history, languages, etc. Of these 63 teachers, 24 (38.10%) have indicated that they neither agree nor disagree with the statement that enough about these topics is taught at their school. 18 (28.57%) agree with this, 11 (17.46%) disagree, 6 (9.52%) completely agree, and 4 (6.35%) completely disagree (Table 51).

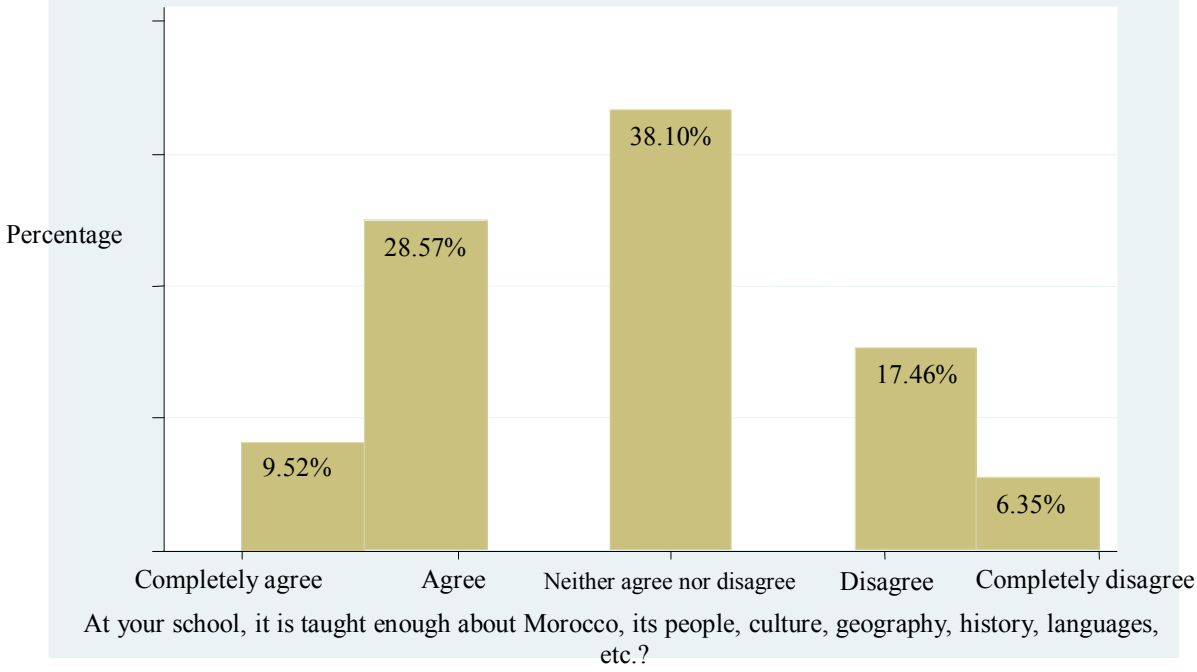
Table 51. Teachers' opinions regarding the statement that, at the schools, enough is taught about Morocco, its people, culture, geography, history, languages, etc. (teacher survey)

Teachers' opinions regarding the statement that, at the schools, enough is taught about Morocco, its people, culture, geography, history, languages, etc.	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
Completely agree	6	9.52%	9.52%
Agree	18	28.57%	38.09%
Neither agree nor disagree	24	38.10%	76.19%
Disagree	11	17.46%	93.65%
Completely disagree	4	6.35%	100.00%
Total	63	100.00%	

The eleven teachers who disagree come from both elementary secondary schools. Six of them teach at public elementary schools and five of them teach at public secondary schools. All four teachers who completely disagree come from public secondary schools.

The histogram below illustrates the teachers' responses to this question.

Figure 15. Teachers' opinions regarding the statement that, at the schools, enough is taught about Morocco, its people, culture, geography, history, languages, etc. (teacher survey)



The teachers' responses to the questions listed in Tables 50 and 51 significantly vary not only between different types of schools and between schools of the same type, but also within the same school. Responses greatly differ even among teachers who teach the same subject matter at the same school. For example, one of two male teachers of geography and history at IES MC disagrees with both statements (see Table 50 and 51), whereas the other one agrees with them. They both are in their 50s and have over 20 years of teaching experience. In addition, there is only one teacher from a private school/*centro concertado* in the whole teacher sample. Thus, the data gathered are insufficient to draw any conclusions regarding variations among teachers on one hand, and among schools, on the other.

However, the data gathered from the teachers' responses with regard to these two statements raise important questions, which can be taken into consideration in future surveys, for example: How reliable are the responses to questions regarding Morocco that are provided by teachers who teach subjects such as math, chemistry, physics, biology, physical education, etc.? How reliable are the answers to such questions when the only respondents are teachers of Spanish and/or European origin?

5.1.4. The Extent to Which Students at Spanish Schools Study about Islam

The questions in the student survey regarding students' exposure to Islam through school instruction and classroom activities are also grounded in Portes and Rumbaut's study. Similar to what is discussed in the previous section about Morocco-related subjects, the dissemination of Islam-related knowledge in Spanish classrooms can have a significant impact on Moroccan, Muslim, non-Moroccan and non-Muslim students. These questions are related to students' major sources of information regarding Islam since these sources can play a critical role in shaping children's perceptions and attitudes.

A total of 387 students (75.59%) have answered the question about where and how they learned what they know about Islam. The possible answers the students could mark were seven (i.e., "at school", "from TV", "from movies", "from your parents", "from your relatives", "from your friends", and "somewhere else") and they could

mark all those that would apply to them.[378] The responses are summarized in the table below.

Table 52. Students' sources of information related to Islam (student survey)

Students' sources of information related to Islam	Number of students	Percent
At school	122	31.52%
From TV	136	35.14%
From movies	76	19.64%
From your parents	150	38.76%
From your relatives	62	16.02%
From your friends	164	42.38%
Somewhere else	75	19.38%

As the table shows (Table 52), for 164 (42.38%) out of the 387 students who have responded to this question, their friends constitute their main source of information related to Morocco. The second major source of information are the parents, as indicated by 150 (38.76%) of the students. 136 students (35.14%) have marked "TV" as their response, 122 (31.52%) have marked "school", 76 (19.64%) have marked "movies", and 62 (16.02%) have marked "relatives". Seventy-five of the students (19.38%) have indicated that they (also) have other sources of information. These other sources are summarized in the table below (Table 53). Among the most frequent of them are: "mosque" (33.78% of the responses), "Arabic school" (10.81%), "Morocco" (9.46%), "street" (6.76%), etc.

[378] Because of this, the cumulative percentage would be well above 100% and, therefore, it is excluded from the table below.

Table 53. Students' additional sources of information related to Islam (student survey)

Students' additional sources of information related to Islam	Number of students	Percent	Cumulative
Mosque	25	33.78%	33.78%
Arabic school	8	10.81%	44.59%
Morocco	7	9.46%	54.05%
Street	5	6.76%	60.81%
Bangladesh	4	5.41%	66.22%
Pakistan	4	5.41%	71.63%
[I am] Muslim	4	5.41%	77.04%
Books	4	5.41%	82.45%
Internet	2	2.70%	85.15%
Quran	2	2.70%	87.85%
Moroccan parents	1	1.35%	89.20%
Pakistani parents	1	1.35%	90.55%
Others	7	9.46%	100.00%
Total	74	100.00%	

When asked in what class(es) they have studied anything about Morocco, 393 (76.76%) out of all 512 responded. The most frequent responses are summarized in the table below (Table 54). As this table shows, 112 (28.50%) of the 393 students have said "religion". 109 (27.74%) have said that they do not study anything about Islam in any of the classes. 69 (17.56%) have said "social sciences" (which includes geography and history), 16 (4.07%) have said "Arabic" or "Arabic school", another 16 (4.07%) have said "mosque", 12 (3.05%) have said "alternativa", another 12 (3.05%) have said "English", 10 (2.54%) have said "religious culture", and 6 (1.53%) have said "ethics". Some of the other responses include: "Bangladesh", "Morocco", "[I am] Muslim",

"Colombia", and "Poland". Some students have also given "my home" and "my country" as their responses referring, respectively, to Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Guinea-Bissau.

Table 54. Courses in which students have studied about Islam (student survey)

Course in which students have studied about Islam	Number of students	Percent
Religion	112	28.50%
None	109	27.74%
Social sciences	69	17.56%
Arabic/Arabic school	16	4.07%
Mosque	16	4.07%
Alterantiva	12	3.05%
English	12	3.05%
Religious culture	10	2.54%
Ethics	6	1.53%

As illustrated in Table 52, friends, parents and TV are the three most popular among students sources of information about Islam, whereas school is barely ranked fourth. This can have serious implications for the perceptions, opinions and even behavior of both Moroccan/Muslim and non-Moroccan/non-Muslim children, as well as for the kind of "secure environment" described by Portes and Rumbaut.

The teacher survey also included questions regarding Islam. Their goal, once again, was to compare teachers' and students' responses, identify, and explain the existence of any correspondences or discrepancies between them.

The majority, 63 (94.03%) out of all 67 teachers, have responded to the question about whether enough is taught at their school about Islam. Of all 63 students, 24 (38.10%) have indicated that they neither agree nor disagree with the statement that enough about Islam is taught at their school (Table 55). 16 (25.40%) agree with this, 14 (22.22%) disagree, 7 (11.11%) completely agree, and 2 (3.17%) completely disagree.

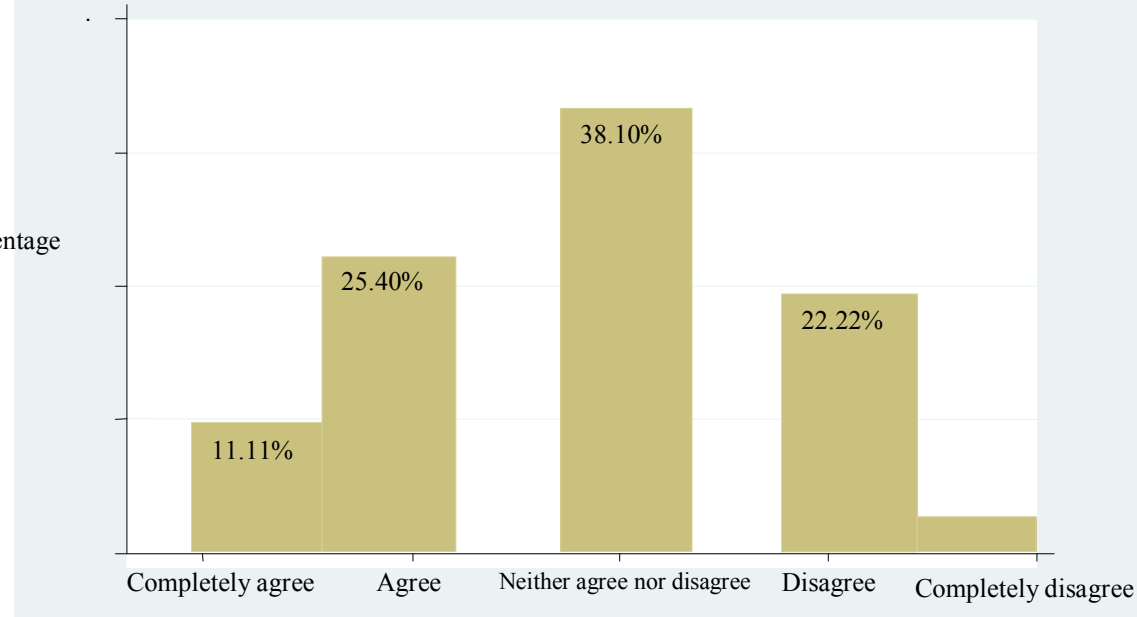
Table 55. Teachers' opinions about the statement that enough is taught about Islam at the schools (teacher survey)

Teachers' opinions about the statement that it is taught enough about Islam at the schools	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
Completely agree	7	11.11%	11.11%
Agree	16	25.40%	36.51%
Neither agree nor disagree	24	38.10%	74.60%
Disagree	14	22.22%	96.83%
Completely disagree	2	3.17%	100.00%
Total	63	100.00%	

The fourteen teachers who disagree teach at both elementary and secondary schools. Eight of them teach at public elementary schools and six of them teach at public secondary schools. Of the six who teach at secondary schools, two are teachers of social sciences, two are teachers of Spanish, one teaches English, and one teaches visual and plastic arts. The two teachers who completely disagree teach at a public secondary school. One of them is a teacher of Catalan and the other one is a teacher of philosophy and ethics.

The histogram below illustrates the teachers' responses.

Figure 16. Teachers' opinions about the statement that it is taught enough about Islam at the schools (teacher survey)



The teachers' responses listed in Table 55 again vary to a great extent not only between different types of schools and between schools of the same type, but also within the same school. Similar to what is discussed in 5.1.3.[379], responses significantly differ even among teachers who teach the same subject matter at the same school. The implications and questions raised are identical to those elaborated on in the previous section.[380]

[379] See p. 251

[380] See p. 252

5.1.5. The Extent to Which Arabic Language Courses Are Offered at Spanish Schools

Both the student and the teacher survey include questions about Arabic classes offered at the schools. The availability of such language courses is important in creating a "secure environment" for Moroccan children, similar to the one elaborated on in Portes and Rumbaut's study with regard to Cuban immigrant children in the United States. In addition, the accessibility of Arabic classes to non-Arabic speaking students is likely to provide them not only with language skills but also with wider exposure to Moroccan culture, which can positively affect their perceptions of and attitudes towards Moroccans, and even Muslims in general.

Most teachers, 63 (94.03%) out of all 67, responded to the question regarding Arabic courses offered at their schools. Of these 63, 47 (74.60%) have indicated that no Arabic courses are offered at their schools (Table 56). Twelve (19.05%) have said that Arabic courses for anybody interested are offered at their school and four (6.35%) have said that, at their school, Arabic courses are offered only for native students. Seven of the twelve teachers who have said that Arabic is offered to anybody interested teach at CEIP DV and the remaining five teach at CEIP GL. Three of the four teachers who have said that Arabic courses are offered only for native students teach at CEIP GL, and one teaches at CEIP DV.

Table 56. Availability of Arabic language courses at the schools (teacher survey)

Availability of Arabic language courses at the schools	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
No	47	74.60%	74.60%
Yes, but only for native speakers	4	6.35%	80.95%
Yes, for anybody interested	12	19.05%	100.00%
Total	63	100.00%	

According to the data in the table above, a few important conclusions can be made. First, Arabic language courses are not taught at (at least) some Spanish schools, even at some schools with significant numbers of Moroccan children. Second, Arabic language courses are offered more often at elementary schools rather than at secondary schools, which suggests lack of continuity from elementary to secondary schools. In addition, since Arabic language courses are available only at some elementary schools, this also suggests lack of consistency across elementary schools. Third, the discrepancies in the answers provided by teachers teaching at the same schools[381] indicate that (at least, some) teachers are not well-informed about the opportunities available at their own schools.

5.1.6. The Extent to Which Students in Spain Know about Morocco and Morocco-Related Topics

The majority, 501 (97.85%) out of 512 students, have responded to the question about how much they know about Morocco's geography. Of these 501 students, 154 (30.74%) of them have said "nothing", 101 (20.16%) have said "neither much nor

[381] See the previous paragraph.

little", 96 (19.16%) have said "little", 66 (13.17%) have said "very little" (Table 57). Only 45 (8.98%) and 32 (6.39%) have said, respectively, "quite a bit" and "much".

Table 57. Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's geography (student survey)

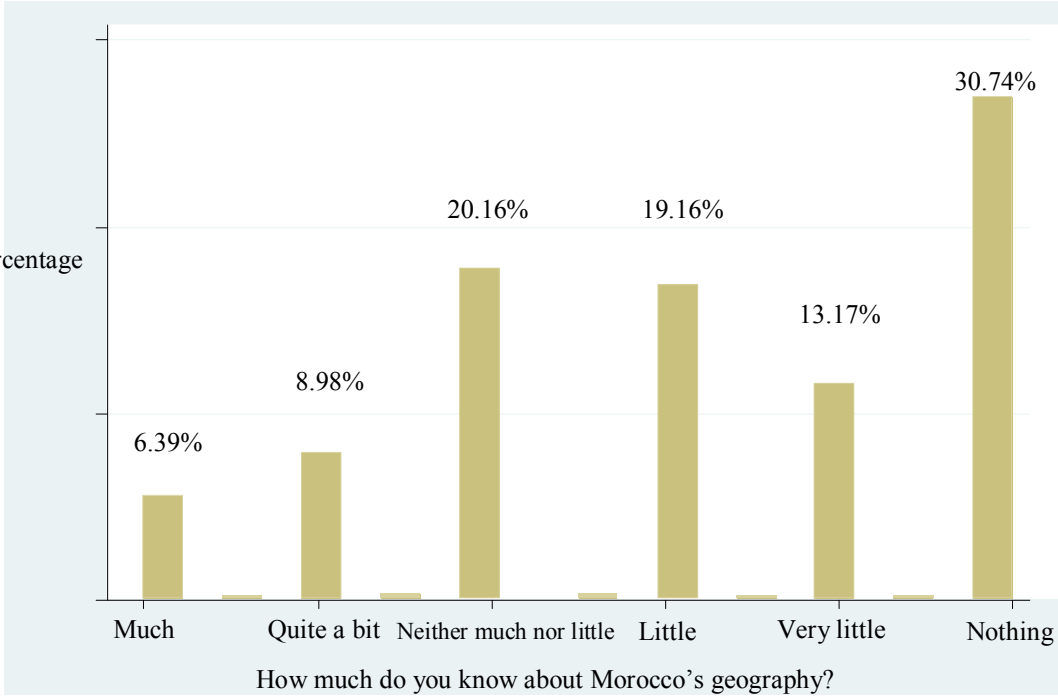
Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's geography	Number of students	Percent	Cumulative
Much (1)	32	6.39%	6.39%
Much (1); Quite a bit (2)	1	0.20%	6.59%
Quite a bit (2)	45	8.98%	15.57%
Quite a bit (2); Neither much nor little (3)	2	0.40%	15.97%
Neither much nor little (3)	101	20.16%	36.13%
Neither much nor little (3); Little (4)	2	0.40%	36.53%
Little (4)	96	19.16%	55.69%
Little (4); Very little (5)	1	0.20	55.89
Very little (5)	66	13.17	69.06
Very little (5); Nothing (6)	1	0.20	69.26
Nothing (6)	154	30.74	100.00
Total	501	100.00	

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's geography	501	4.164671	1.581875	1	6

The possible responses, which range from "much" to "nothing", have been assigned numbers from 1 to 6. Thus, a mean of about 4.16 has been derived, where 4 stands for "little" and 5 for "very little".

The histogram below illustrates the students' responses.

Figure 17. Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's geography (student survey)



The vast majority, 504 (98.44%) out of 512 students, have responded to the question about how much they know about Morocco's history. Of these 504 students, 199 (39.48%) of them have said "nothing", 96 (19.05%) have said "little", 72 (14.29%) have said "very little", 68 (13.49%) have said "neither much nor little" (Table 58). Only 39 (7.74%) and 26 (5.16%) have said, respectively, "quite a bit" and "much".

Table 58. Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's history (student survey)

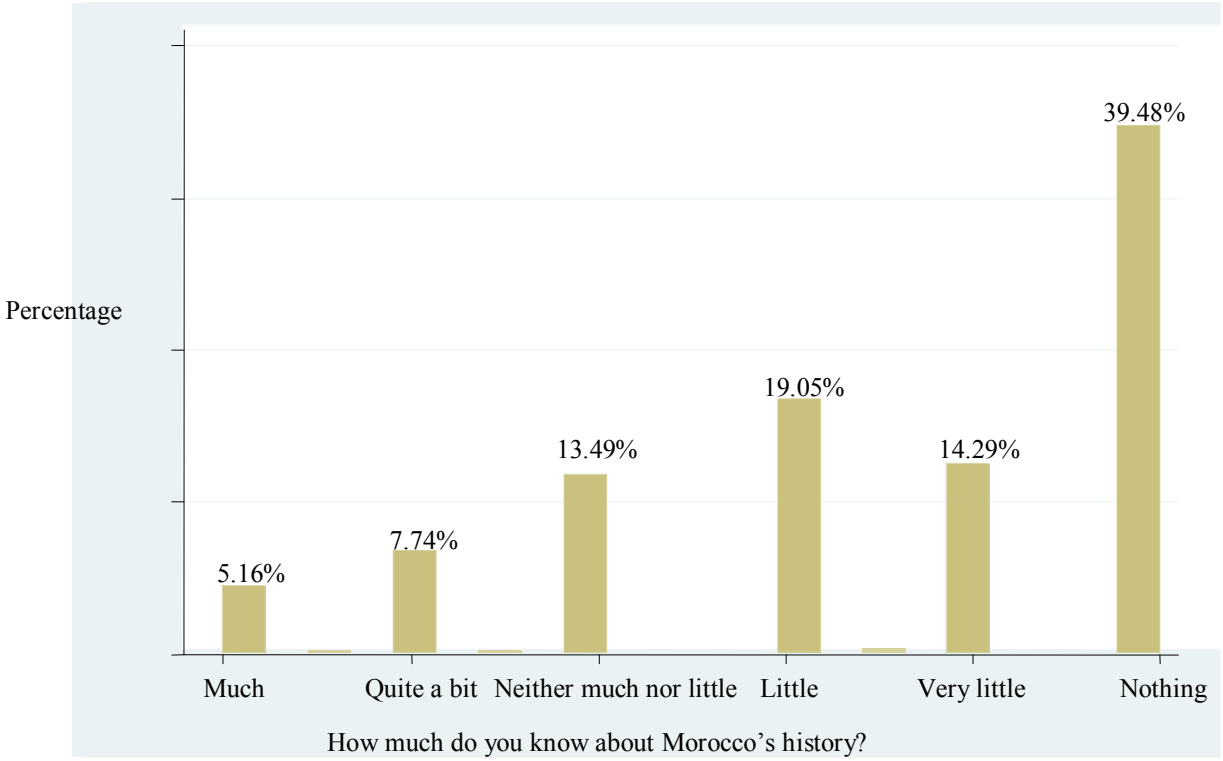
Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's history	Number	Percent	Cumulative
Much (1)	26	5.16%	5.16%
Much (1); Quite a bit (2)	1	0.20%	5.36%
Quite a bit (2)	39	7.74%	13.10%
Quite a bit (2); Neither much nor little (3)	1	0.20%	13.29%
Neither much nor little (3)	68	13.49%	26.79%
Little (4)	96	19.05%	45.83%
Little (4); Very little (5)	2	0.40%	46.23%
Very little (5)	72	14.29%	60.52%
Nothing (6)	199	39.48%	100.00
Total	504	100.00%	

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco	504	4.482143	1.556005	1	6

The possible responses, which range from "much" to "nothing", have been assigned numbers from 1 to 6. Thus, a mean of about 4.48 has been derived, where 4 stands for "little" and 5 for "very little".

The histogram below illustrates the students' responses.

Figure 18. Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's history (student survey)



The vast majority, 506 (98.83%) out of 512 students, have responded to the question about how much they know about Morocco's culture. Of these 506 students, 124 (24.51%) have said "nothing", 112 (22.13%) have said "little", 96 (18.97%) have said "neither much nor little", 69 (13.64%) have said "quite a bit", 51 (10.08%) have said "very little", and 50 (9.88%) have said "much" (Table 59).

Table 59. Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's culture (student survey)

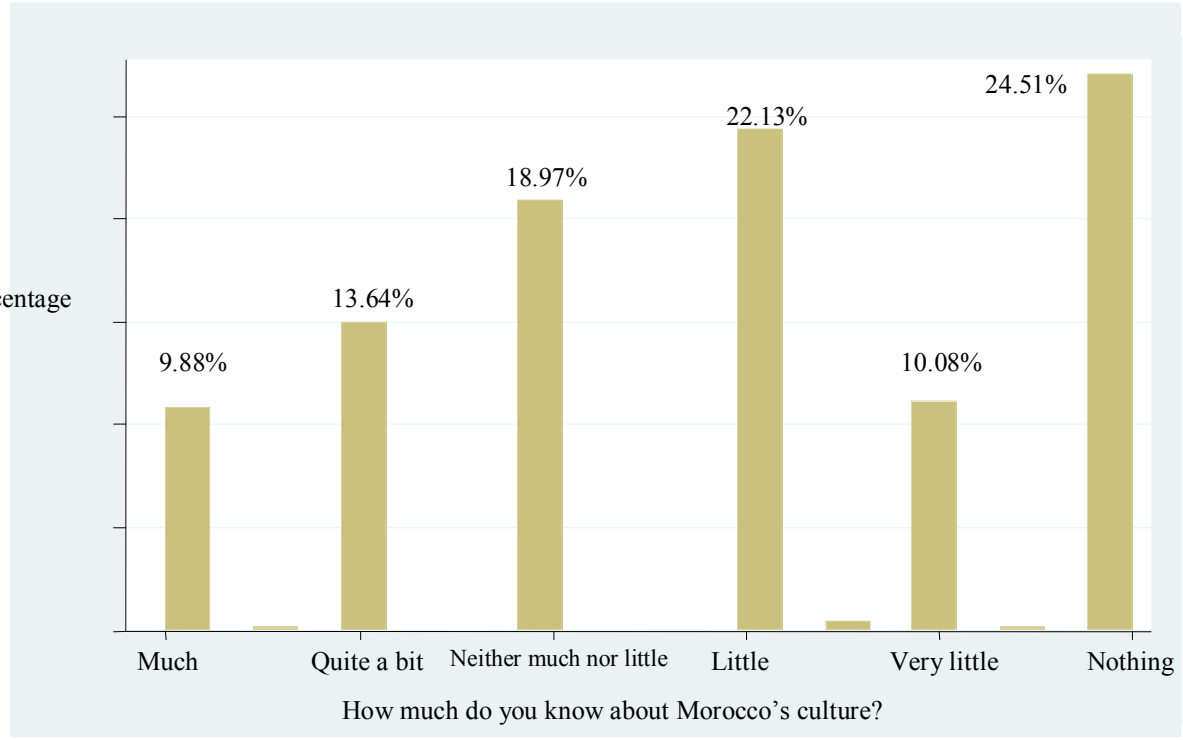
Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's culture	Number of students	Percent	Cumulative
Much (1)	50	9.88%	9.88%
Much (1); Quite a bit (2)	1	0.20%	10.08%
Quite a bit (2)	69	13.64%	23.72%
Neither much nor little (3)	96	18.97%	42.69%
Little (4)	112	22.13%	64.82%
Little (4); Very little (5)	2	0.40%	65.22%
Very little (5)	51	10.08%	75.30%
Very little (5); Nothing (6)	1	0.20%	75.49%
Nothing (6)	124	24.51%	100.00%
Total	506	100.0%	

Variable	Observations	Mean	Stand. Deviation	Min	Max
Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's culture	506	3.832016	1.643301	1	6

The possible responses, which range from "much" to "nothing", have been assigned numbers from 1 to 6. Thus, a mean of about 3.83 has been derived, where 3 stands for "neither much nor little" and 4 for "little".

The histogram below illustrates the students' responses.

Figure 19. Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's culture (student survey)



Most students, 506 (98.83%) out of 512, have responded to the question about how much they know about Morocco's languages. Of these 506 students, 197 (38.93%) of them have said "nothing", 95 (18.77%) have said "little", 63 (12.45%) have said "very little", 55 (10.87%) have said "neither much nor little", 49 (9.68%) have said "much", and 42 (8.30%) have said "quite a bit" (Table 60).

Table 60. Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's languages? (student survey)

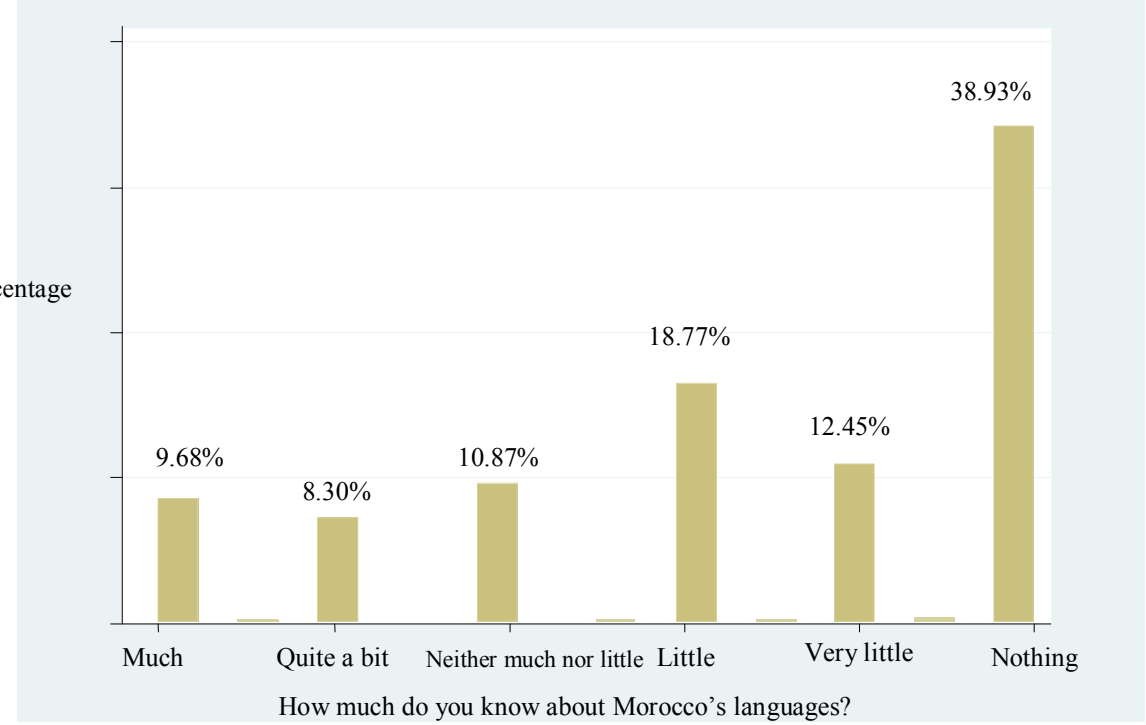
Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's languages	Number of students	Percent	Cumulative
Much (1)	49	9.68%	9.68%
Much (1); Quite a bit (2)	1	0.20%	9.88%
Quite a bit (2)	42	8.30%	18.18%
Neither much nor little (3)	55	10.87%	29.05%
Neither much nor little (3); Little (4)	1	0.20%	29.25%
Little (4)	95	18.77%	48.02%
Little (4); Very little (5)	1	0.20%	48.22%
Very little (5)	63	12.45%	60.67%
Very little (5); Nothing (6)	2	0.40%	61.07%
Nothing (6)	197	38.93%	100.00%
Total	506	100.00%	

Variable	Observations	Mean	Stand. Deviation	Min	Max
Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's languages	506	4.338933	1.705044	1	6

The possible responses, which range from "much" to "nothing", have been assigned numbers from 1 to 6. Thus, a mean of about 4.34 has been derived, where 4 stands for "little" and 5 for "very little".

The histogram below illustrates the students' responses.

Figure 20. Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Morocco's languages? (student survey)



As Table 57 above shows, 318 students (i.e. 63.47% of all those who responded to the question) said that they know "little," "very little," or "nothing" about Morocco's geography. The 154 students who said they know "nothing" constitute the majority (30.74% of all responses). According to Table 58, 369 students (i.e. 73.22% of all those who responded to the question) said that they know "little," "very little," or "nothing" about Morocco's history. The 199 students who said they know "nothing" constitute the majority (39.48% of all responses). As Table 59 demonstrates, 290 students (i.e. 57.32% of all those who responded to the question) said that they know "little," "very little," or "nothing" about Morocco's culture. The 124 students who said they know "nothing" constitute the majority (24.51% of all responses). According to

Table 60, 358 students (i.e. 70.75% of all those who responded to the question) said that they know "little," "very little," or "nothing" about Morocco's languages. The 197 students who said they know "nothing" constitute the majority (i.e. 38.93% of all responses).

Therefore, based on these data, it can be concluded that the majority of students at Spanish schools know little, very little, or nothing about Morocco's geography, history, culture and languages. Moreover, those who know nothing about these topics seem to constitute the largest group within this majority. No patterns or tendencies with regard to students' responses were found among schools of the same type (e.g., public elementary, public secondary, or *centro concertado*) or among schools of different types (e.g. elementary vs. secondary, public vs. private/*centros concertados*).

However, an interesting and important observation was made with respect to some of those students who said that they know much or quite a bit about Morocco's geography, history, culture or languages. For example, both students from IES AG who said that they know a lot about Morocco's geography are of Moroccan origin. One of them, a 16-year-old boy who was born in Morocco and came to Spain in 1998, also said that he studies little about Morocco at school and that what he knows about Morocco he knows it from his parents. The other one, a 15-year-old boy who was born in Spain to Morocco parents, also said that what he knows he has learned it from his parents. Another example comes from IES MC where seven of the twelve students who said that they know quite a bit about Morocco's geography were born to Moroccan parents. Based on these findings, it can be concluded that many of the students who do know (or claim that they know) a lot/quite a bit about Morocco do not

obtain their information at school. Even if some of them mark "school" among their responses, they do not necessarily mean schools in Spain. It is especially true for those who arrived in Spain within the last few years.

5.1.7. The Extent to Which Students in Spain Know about Islam

Most students, 492 (96.09%) out of 512, have responded to the question about how much they know about Morocco's languages. Of these 492 students, 131 (26.63%) of them have said "nothing", 85 (17.28%) have said "much", 71 (14.43%) have said "quite a bit", 70 (14.23%) have said "little", 68 (13.82%) have said "neither much nor little", and 64 (13.01%) have said "very little" (Table 61).

Table 61. Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Islam (student survey)

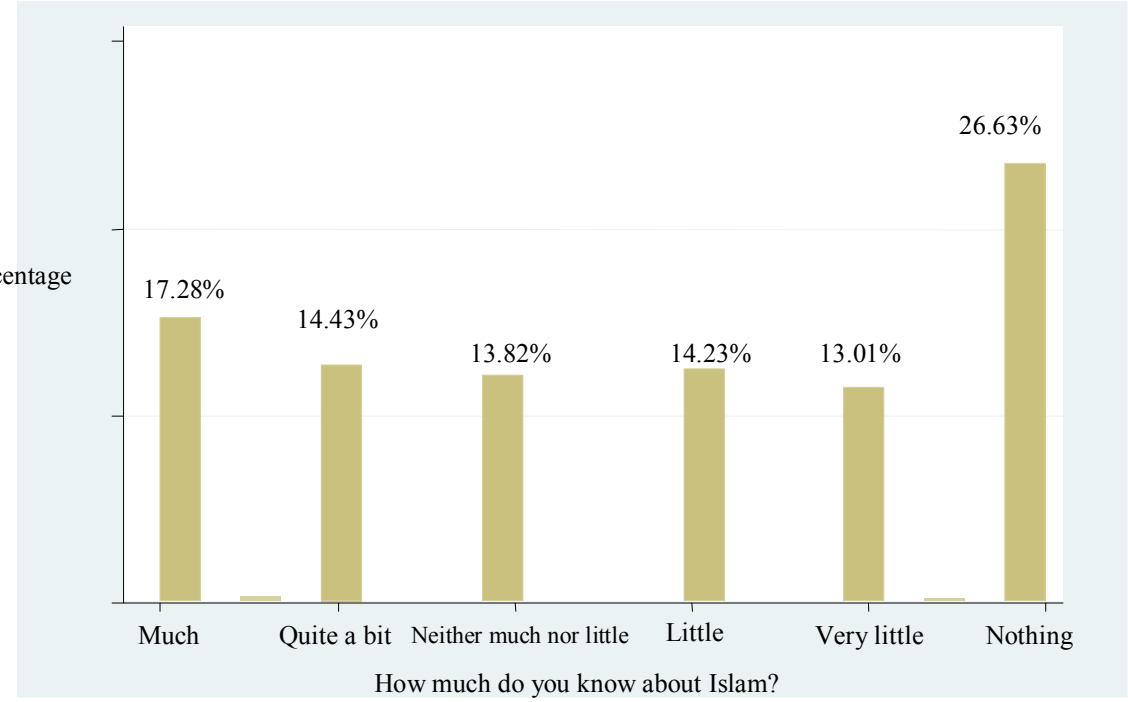
Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Islam	**Number of students**	**Percent**	**Cumulative**
Much (1)	85	17.28%	17.28%
Much (1); Quite a bit (2)	2	0.41%	17.68%
Quite a bit (2)	71	14.43%	32.11%
Neither much nor little (3)	68	13.82%	45.93%
Little (4)	70	14.23%	60.16%
Very little (5)	64	13.01%	73.17%
Very little (5); Nothing (6)	1	0.20%	73.37%
Nothing (6)	131	26.63%	100.00%
Total	492	100.00%	

Variable	**Observations**	**Mean**	**Standard Deviation**	**Min**	**Max**
Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Islam	492	3.710366	1.848915	1	6

The possible responses, which range from "much" to "nothing", have been assigned numbers from 1 to 6. Thus, a mean of about 3.71 has been derived, where 3 stands for "neither much nor little" and 4 for "little".

The histogram below illustrates the students' responses.

Figure 21. Students' degree of exposure to knowledge related to Islam (student survey)



As Table 61 above shows, 266 students (i.e. 54.07% of all those who responded to the question) said that they know "little," "very little," or "nothing" about Islam. The 131 students who said they know "nothing" constitute the majority (26.63% of all responses). Based on these data, it can be concluded that the majority of students at Spanish schools know little, very little, or nothing about Islam. Moreover, those who know nothing about Islam seem to constitute the largest group within this majority.

Again, no patterns or tendencies with regard to students' responses were found among schools of the same type (e.g., public elementary, public secondary, or *centro concertado*) or among schools of different types (e.g. elementary vs. secondary, public vs. private/*centros concertados*).

5.1.8. Additional Questions

In addition to the survey questions directly related to the research questions, the surveys include a few questions whose relation to the research questions is less obvious. For example, students were asked whether they have any Moroccan friends. Of all 512 students who participated in the survey, 449 (87.70%) have said that they have Moroccan friends, 62 (12.11%) have said that do not have Moroccan friends, and one has not answered (Table 62).

Table 62. Moroccan friends that students at the schools have (student survey)

Moroccan friends that students at the schools have	Number of students	Percent	Cumulative
Yes	449	87.70%	87.70%
No	62	12.11%	99.81%
No response	1	0.20%	100.00%
Total	512	100.00%	

The distribution of students' responses by school is quite interesting. The percentages of students at the four elementary public schools who answered that they did not have Moroccan friends are the following: CEIP EG – 6.98%, CEIP DV – 20%, CEIP GL – 23.08%, and CEIP MU – 3.85%. As for the distribution of students with

no Moroccan friends across secondary public schools, it is as follows: IES AG – 0%, IES MC – 20%, IES JM – 3.70%, and IES PP – 13.21%. The total percentage of students without Moroccan friends at the *centro concertado* SD is 7.32%. The percentages of elementary and secondary school students at SD who indicated that they did not have any Moroccan friends are 8.00% and 7.02%, respectively.

The detailed examination of the percentages above within the context of all the responses provided by both students and teachers revealed some important findings. The majority of students who indicated that they had no Moroccan friends were either foreign-born or born in Spain to foreign-born parents. For example, none of the 23 students from IES MC who did not have Moroccan friends were born in Spain to Spanish parents. They were either born outside of Spain (mainly, in Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Pakistan or the Philippines) and came to Spain between 2000 and 2008, or were born in Spain with at least one foreign-born parent. This might be an indication that Moroccan children are better and/or more readily accepted by Spanish children than by other ethnic groups.

The same applies to IES JM, IES PP, CEIP EG, CEIP GL, and CEIP MU, with CEIP GL being slightly different from the others. Two of the twelve responses from that school came from two 11-year-old female students who were born in Spain to Moroccan parents. It is possible that either the two girls misunderstood the question or that they avoided socializing with people of Moroccan origin.

In addition, as seen above, CEIP GL has the highest percentage of students who have indicated that they had no Moroccan friends. As already mentioned, the majority of such responses were provided by students of foreign origin, whether born in or

outside of Spain. As Table 29[382] shows, CEIP GL has the highest percentage of foreign students (84.22%) among the elementary schools in the sample and, as discussed above, foreign students are less likely to have Moroccan friends than Spanish students. However, this raises the question of why IES PP - the school with the highest percentageof foreign students in the whole sample (84.26%)[383] – has a substantially lower percentage of students without Moroccan friends. A possible explanation for this can be the students' time of arrival in Spain. Whereas 55% of the students from CEIP GL came to the country between 2000 and 2010, 81.13% of the students from IES PP arrived in the same period. Thus, one can argue that newcomers are more likely to start friendships with other newcomers in a similar situation, rather than with natives. However, based on the data available, it is not possible to support such a claim.

The only students who stated that they did not have Moroccan friends, and who were born in Spain to Spanish parents, were from the *centro concerado* SD and CEIP DV. As far as SD is concerned, one can argue that the reason for this is that the school has the smallest number of Moroccan students in the sample, or at least the smallest number of Moroccan students born in their country of origin. As for CEIP DV, it might have something to do with its faculty's prevailing perceptions of Moroccan students, particularly with regard to discipline.[384]

---

[382] See p. 221

[383] See Table 30 on p. 222.

[384] These perceptions are revealed in the responses provided by the eight teacers from CEIP DV They are discussed further below. See p. 282

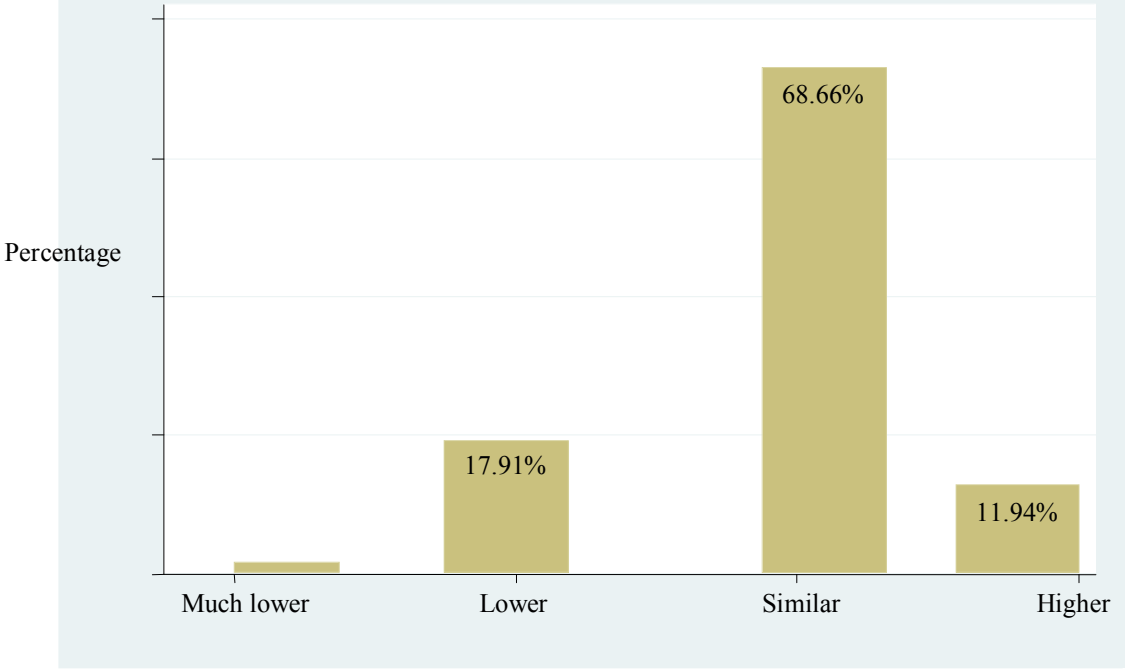
The next few questions deal with Moroccan students' academic performance and integration relative to those of other immigrant and native children. These questions had the goal of revealing any patterns in teachers' perceptions of Moroccan students. A couple of questions on the teacher survey are related to students' academic performance. The teachers were asked to compare the academic performance of Moroccan students to that of other immigrant children and to that of native students. Of all 67 teachers, 46 teachers (68.66%) have said that the academic performance of Moroccan students is similar to that of other immigrant children, 12 (17.91%) have said that it is lower, 8 (11.94%) have said that it is higher, and one has said that it is much lower (Table 63).

Table 63. The academic performance of Moroccan students compared to other immigrant children (teacher survey)

The academic performance of Moroccan students compared to that of other immigrant children	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
Much lower	1	1.49%	1.49%
Lower	12	17.91%	19.40%
Similar	46	68.66%	88.06%
Higher	8	11.94%	100.00%
Much higher	0	0.00%	100.00%
Total	67	100.00%	

The histogram below illustrates the teachers' responses.

Figure 22. The academic performance of Moroccan students compared to other immigrant children (teacher survey)



The academic performance of Moroccan students compared to that of other immigrant children

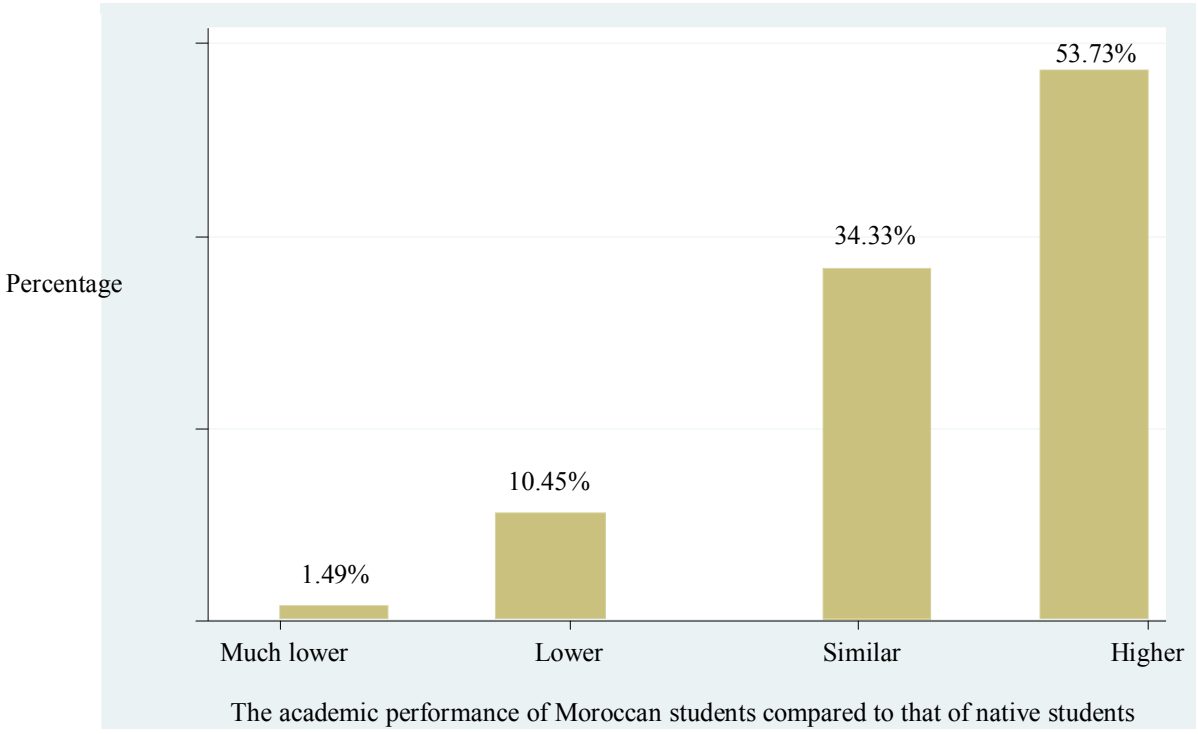
Of all 67 teachers, 36 (53.73%) teachers have said that the academic performance of Moroccan students is higher than that of native students, 23 (34.33%) have said that it is similar, 7 (10.45%) have said that it is lower, and one (1.49%) has said that it is much lower (Table 64).

Table 64. The academic performance of Moroccan students compared to that of native students (teacher survey)

The academic performance of Moroccan students compared to that of native students	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
Much lower	1	1.49%	1.49%
Lower	7	10.45%	11.94%
Similar	23	34.33%	46.27%
Higher	36	53.73%	100.00%
Much higher	0	0.00	100.00
Total	67	100.00%	

The histogram below illustrates the teachers' responses.

Figure 23. The academic performance of Moroccan students compared to that of native students (teacher survey)



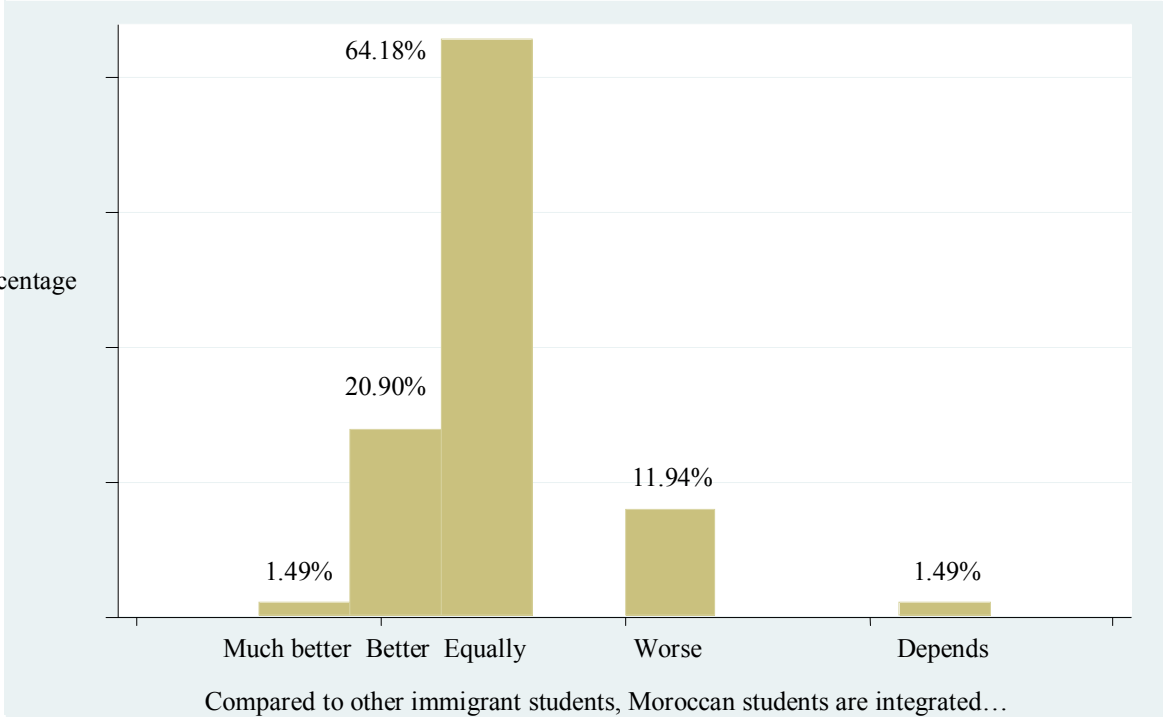
The teachers were also asked to compare how Moroccan students are integrated in comparison to other immigrant students. 43 (64.18%) of the 67 students have said that Moroccan students are integrated as well as other immigrant students (Table 65). 14 teachers (20.90%) have said that Moroccan students are integrated better, 8 (11.94%) have said that they are integrated worse, and one (1.49%) has said that they are integrated much better in comparison to other immigrant students.

Table 65. Moroccan students' integration compared to that of other immigrant students (teacher survey)

Moroccan students' integration compared to that of other immigrant students	Number of teachers	Percent	Cumulative
Much better	1	1.49%	1.49%
Better	14	20.90%	22.39%
Equally	43	64.18%	86.57%
Worse	8	11.94%	98.51%
Much worse	0	0.00%	98.51%
Depends	1	1.49%	100.00%
Total	67	100.00%	

The histogram below illustrates the teachers' responses.

Figure 24. Moroccan students' integration compared to that of other immigrant students (teacher survey)



When asked to identify the ethnic group(s) that has/have the lowest academic achievement, 51 (76.12%) out of all 67 teachers responded. The table below (Table 66) shows the most frequent responses. 20 (39.22%) of the 51 teachers have included "Dominicans", 14 (27.45%) have included "Pakistanis", and 9 (17.65%) have included "Moroccans" in their responses. 7 (13.73%) of the 51 teachers have said that academic achievement has nothing to do with ethnicity, i.e. that there is no relation between the two variables. Among the ethnicities/nationalities that have been included in the other responses are: Southamericans (mentioned by 4 teachers, i.e. 7.84%), Bangladeshis (also mentioned by 4 teachers, i.e. 7.84%), and Latin-Americans (mentioned by 3 teachers, i.e. 5.88%).

Table 66. Ethnic group(s) having the lowest academic achievement (teacher survey)

Ethnic group(s) having the lowest academic achievement	Number of teachers	Percent
Dominicans	20	39.22%
Pakistanis	14	27.45%
Moroccans	9	17.65%
[Academic achievement] has nothing to do with ethnicity	7	13.73%
Southamericans[385]	4	7.84%
Bangladeshis	4	7.84%
Latin-Americans[386]	3	5.88%

Among the less frequent ethnicities/nationalities that have been included in the responses are: Caribbeans, Brazilians, Gypsies, and Ecuadorians. Also, a few teachers have provided different responses. One teacher has said that none of the ethnic groups has the lowest academic performance and that it depends on the students and their social and family environment. Another teacher has said that what determines students' academic achievement are social factors.

When asked to identify the ethnic group(s) that has/have the most discipline problems, 50 (74.63%) out of all 67 teachers responded. The table below (Table 67) demonstrates the most frequent responses. 20 (40%) of the 50 teachers have included "Moroccans" in their responses. 7 (14.0%) have said that discipline has nothing to do with ethnicity. 5 teachers (10%) have included "Dominicans" and 5 (10%) have

[385] The terms "Southamericans" and "Latin-Americans" are listed here because they both were found among teachers' responses.

[386] See the previous footnote.

included "Southamericans" in their responses. 4 (8%) of the 50 teachers have said that no specific ethnic group has most discipline problems. Among the ethnicities/nationalities that have been included in the other responses are: Latin-Americans (mentioned by 3 teachers, i.e. 6%), Maghrebis[387] (mentioned by 3 teachers, i.e. 6%), and Pakistanis (mentioned by 3 teachers, i.e. 6%).

Table 67. The ethnic group(s) having most discipline-related problems (teacher survey)

The ethnic group(s) having most discipline-related problems	Number	Percent
Moroccans	20	40.00%
[Discipline] has nothing to do with ethnicity	7	14.00%
Dominicans	5	10.00%
Southamericans	5	10.00%
None	4	8.00%
Latin-Americans	3	6.00%
Magrebis	3	6.00%
Pakistanis	3	6.00%

Among the less frequent ethnicities/nationalities that have been included in the responses are: Gypsies, natives (i.e. Spanish students), Gypsies, Bangladeshis, Centroamericans, Hispano-Americans, and Ecuadorians. Also, a few teachers have provided different responses. One teacher has said that social factors (not ethnicity) affect students' discipline. Another teacher has said that ethnicity has to do with upbringing and social problems and not with ethnicity. Two of the teachers, who

[387] The term *Maghrebis* is a collective term usually referring to Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians. However, taking into consideration the much smaller numbers of Algerians and Tunisians found in Spain, *Maghrebis* in this context is almost synonymous with *Moroccans*.

included “Moroccans” in their responses, have added that this primarily concerns Moroccan boys and not Moroccan girls.

According to the data summarized in Table 63 and Table 64, the majority of teachers stated that Moroccan students’ academic performance is similar to that of other immigrant children and that it is higher than that of native students. In addition, according to most teachers, Moroccan children are as well integrated as other immigrant children. One fifth of the teachers said that Moroccan students are even better integrated than other ethnic groups (see Table 65 above). However, when asked about the ethnic groups with lowest academic achievement, teachers ranked Moroccan children as third, preceded only by Dominican and Pakistani children (see Table 66 above). Thus, because of these discrepancies and the limited data available, no conclusions can be made with regard to Moroccan student’s academic performance at Spanish schools.

With regard to students’ discipline, Moroccan children were mentioned in teachers’ responses much more often than any other ethnic group (see Table 67). Twenty teachers have included “Moroccans” and three have included “Maghrebis” in their responses. The two groups that come second in this ranking are “Dominicans” and “Southamericans,” each of which were mentioned only five times by teachers. In addition, an interesting observation was made with regard to the distribution of responses by school, particularly of those including “Moroccans.” For example, two out of the five teachers from IES AG mention Moroccans and one mentions Maghrebis; two out of the two teachers from IES JM mention Moroccans; four out of the nine teachers from IES PP mention Moroccans; none of the seven teachers from

CEIP EG and none of the eleven teachers at CEIP MU mentions Moroccans. However, all eight teachers from CEIP DV say that Moroccan children are the ones with most discipline-related problems. One of them specifies that this applies only to Moroccan boys and another one of them specifies that this applies particularly to Moroccan boys.

Based on these results, it can be concluded that Moroccan children are, in general, perceived by Spanish teachers to be the ones with most discipline-related problems of all other ethnic groups. The uneven distribution of responses by school suggests that certain schools have more serious problems with Moroccan children's discipline or that teachers' perceptions of and attitudes towards Moroccan students differ substantially from one school to another. However, because of the small teacher sample and the limited data, further research need s to be done before conclusions can be drawn regarding the discrepancies in teachers' responses across schools.

5.2. Qualitative Part

To summarize, the main research questions that have shaped the qualitative part of the student and teacher surveys are: 1) What indications, if any, are there for existing stereotypes, prejudices, etc. among students and teachers towards Moroccan students or Moroccans in general?; 2) What indications, if any, are there for existing stereotypes, prejudices, etc. among students and teachers towards Muslims and/or Islam? These research questions are reflected in the student survey by the following open-ended questions: 1) What do you know about Morocco (geography, history, people, culture and languages)?; 2) What do you know about Islam? These questions

were phrased in a way as neutral as possible so that they do not lead to particular answers. The answers to these questions are listed in the tables below, which are thematically grouped by code. Since the main purpose of the questions is to obtain information that reveals existing perceptions, sentiments, and attitudes – particularly stereotypes, prejudices, and negative attitudes - answers that are not indicative of any of these, are not included in the tables.

5.2.1. Qualitative Part: Students

When asked what they know about Morocco and Islam, a number of students answered by saying that the country and its main religion are different from, respectively, Spain and Christianity. Some of the responses were even more specific, elaborating on particular differences (see Table 68 below).

Table 68. Summary of qualitative data: Code 1 ("Different")

Code	"Different"
Examples	- "It is a country with different cultures, Arabic, Amazigh, etc. are spoken."(AG7)[388] - "That they speak another language, another culture, another customs, and other forms of living" (MC74) - "[…] that it is a religion different from the Catholic" (JM20) - "[…] their culture is very different […]" (PP20) - "Their culture is very different from ours […]" (PP21) - "[they] have another religious belief […]" (PP23) - "[They] have very different customs." (PP27) - "[…] their culture and religion are super different" (PP37) - "[they] do not go to church, [they] go to mosque" (SD20) - "Their alphabet has different characters." (SD59) - "[They] have a mosque instead of a church". (DV28) - "that [they] have a different god" (GL39) - "[they] speak two languages, different that are Arabic and Berber" (GL42) - "Different languages, the country and the religion" (GL47) - "[…] that [they] have another language […]" (GL51) - "[they] do things of Muslims not like the Spanish" (MC106) - "That [they] believe in another god different from Christians (Allah)" (PP25) - "[It] is a religion, those who are of the religion Islam do not believe in the God of Christians, celebrate different holidays and have a different prayer and different customs" (SD19) - "[I] know that [they] have some customs very different from ours" (SD27) - "That [it] is a different religion […]" (EG2)

As the table above shows, some students perceive Morocco as a very different country, with different culture, languages, customs, religion and, in general, ways of living.[389] However, no patterns or tendencies with regard to students' responses were

[388] The parentheses following the responses listed in the table contain the respective student's identification number. For example, AG7 indicates the response of the student #7 surveyed at CEIP AG.

[389] It is interesting to note that several children say that Moroccans have a god different from the "Christian god/god of Christians." In fact, this is a common misconception held by many people

found among schools of the same type (e.g., public elementary, public secondary, or *centro concertado*) or among schools of different types (e.g. elementary vs. secondary, public vs. private/*centros concertados*). No patterns were discerned among individual students either. Nevertheless, it is important to note that not only do these responses come from students attending different types of schools but they also come from students of various ethnic origins, including children from Spain, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Pakistan, and Uruguay. As a matter of fact, a couple of these responses were provided by Moroccan children, a 16-year-old girl who came to the country in 2000 and a 12-year-old girl who arrived in 2006. This suggests that Morocco and Spain, as well as their respective cultures, languages, religions, etc., are perceived as quite different not only by non-Moroccan children but also by Moroccan ones.

In response to the question about what they know about Morocco and Islam, some students mentioned the Islamic conquest of Spain in the 8th century. Their answers are listed in the table below (Table 69).

---

throughout the world, i.e. that Christians and Muslims have different gods, and that Muslims' god is Alllah. However, "Allah" in Arabic simply means "the god."

Table 69. Summary of qualitative data: Code 2 (Conquest of Spain)

Code	Conquest of Spain
Examples	- "They invaded Spain and left their culture because their buildings are still preserved." (AG8) - They wanted to invade us calling Spain Andalusia […]" (AG13) - "That they invaded the Iberian Peninsula, Andalusia as they would call it." (AG18) - "I know that "before" they invaded Spain […]" (AG24) - "that they invaded Spain" (JM12) - "[They] conquered part of Spain for centuries" (SD33) - "[they] conquered parts of Spain for centuries" (SD35) - "[They] conquered Spain from South to North […]" (SD42) - "That [they] came to Spain to invade it, such things" (SD67)

Based on the responses laid out in the table above, a couple of observations can be made. First, responses related to the conquest of Spain come only from three schools: two public secondary schools and the *centro concertado*. Second, information related to the conquest of Spain is the only piece of information some of the students provided when asked about their knowledge of Morocco. Although the limited data suggests that certain patterns and/or tendencies can be found across schools, no definitive conclusions can be made. However, based on these several responses, there is a strong indication that some students at Spanish schools either know only this about Morocco, or choose to include only this piece of information in their responses. This, in its turn, suggests either limited knowledge, or certain perceptions and/or attitudes.

When asked what they know about Morocco, some students made the connection between the country and Islam, primarily saying that Morocco is a Muslim country, that Moroccans are Muslims, that they practice Islam and/or that their god is Allah (see Table 70 below).

Table 70. Summary of qualitative data: Code 3 (Morocco and Islam)

Code	Morocco and Islam
Examples	-"I know that it is a mostly Muslim country and where they speak Arabic." (AG9) - "That they have Muslim religion." (MC64) - "[…] the god of morocco is Allah." (SD2) - "Some gods; religions like for example Allah […]" (SD5) - "[they] believe in the Muslim religion and it is not polytheist" (SD9) - "[…] their religion is Muslim […]" (SD11) - "[they] practice the Muslim religion […]" (SD35) - "The Muslim religion is practiced." (SD41) - "that [they] are Muslims" (GL37) - "That Morocco enters Islam and because of that [they] go to the mosque […]" (MU30) - "[It] is the religion of Moroccans" (MC3) (PP28) - "[It] is a religion of Morocco. And [they] have a big sacred stone." (SD33) - "Religion of Moroccans" (SD38) - "That Islam is very religious for Moroccans" (GL5) - "That [it] is the religion of Morocco" (MU22)

As the table and the data not included in the table demonstrate, many of the students who took part in the survey related Morocco to Islam. Although some of the responses include factually incorrect information (e.g. "Some gods; religions like for example Allah […]"), it seems that the majority of children at Spanish schools, regardless of their ethnic origin, are aware that the main religion of Morocco and Moroccans is Islam. Furthermore, as Table 71 below shows, some students' knowledge of Islam extends far beyond this basic fact.

Table 71. Summary of qualitative data: Code 4 (Distinguishing features of Islam)

Code	Distinguishing features of Islam
Examples	- "That [it] is a monotheistic and universalist religion." (AG9) - "[It] is a monotheistic religion, [it] is one of the three big/great[390] religions, of the newest ones." (AG22) - "Islam has like 5 pillars: the worship of Allah" (AG23) - "That [it] is a religion that many people have" (AG24) - "that all Muslims believe in Allah and that celebrate quite a lot of holidays" (AG41) - "[It] is a Muslim religion." (AG46) - "The people who practice it are called Muslims. They exist in Asia, Africa. Their god is Muhammad." (MC6) - "That [they] dedicate themselves to one religion believe in a single god" (MC11) - "That [it] is one of the youngest religions." (MC94) - "Islam is almost in all Asia and little in Europe" (MC108) - "Its creator, [I] believe, that is Allah." (PP22) - "[they] say that Muhammad was a prophet" (PP29) - "that [it] is not polytheist, there are not many gods, their god is Allah […]" (SD11) - "that [Islam] is a tradition" (SD14) - "[it] is the religion that predominates in the Middle East." (SD37) - "[It] is one of the 3 most important religions […]" (SD43) - "[It] is one of the most important religions" (SD44) - "That [it] is a society of Muslims where [they] have their religions and cultures." (SD46) - "Islam is a form of belief of a group of people [they] believe that Allah is their patriot or a path to follow" (SD47) - "That [it] is the religion of Muslims." (MU20)

The students' responses laid out in the table above included information about the distinguishing features of Islam: that it is a monotheistic religion; that it is one of the youngest and most wide-spread religions; that it has five pillars, etc. However, the occasional factually incorrect responses (e.g. "Their god is Muhammad.") and the uneven distribution of answers by school suggest that students at Spanish schools have limited knowledge of Islam. This might also be indicative of a certain level of

[390] The word used by the student is "grandes".

inconsistency with regard to knowledge transmission across schools. In fact, as seen in the table above, the responses come primarily from secondary school (both public and private) students.[391]

Furthermore, as Table 72 and Table 73 below demonstrate, some of the students' answers related to Islam reveal certain perceptions and, even, misconceptions. A few secondary school (both public and private) students said that Islam is a very strict religion and that Muslims are very religious. One of them even said that Islam is an authoritarian religion (see Table 72 below). In addition, some of the responses are more or less factually wrong, which is well illustrated by the examples in Table 73. This indicates either misunderstanding on part of the students or some degree of faultiness and/or bias found in their sources of information (e.g., school, parents, friends, books, TV, internet, etc.).

Table 72. Summary of qualitative data: Code 5 (Religiosity, strictness, authoritarianism)

Code	**Religiosity, strictness, authoritarianism**
Examples	- "[they] are very religious" (PP34) - "Very religious, Muslim religion, very strict […]" (SD42) - "that [it] is a very authoritarian religion" (AG6) - "[It] is a very strict religion" (SD34)

[391] The only exception is the last response, which comes from CEIP MU. As for the responses provided by students at the *centro concertado* SD, they come only from secondary-level students.

Table 73. Summary of qualitative data: Code 6 (Quran)

Code	Quran
Examples	- "One has to read Quran every day" (AG42) - "That the sacred book of Islamists is Quran" (MC39) - "[they] have a small book, the Quran" (PP21)

Undoubtedly, the two most often recurring themes found in the students' responses to the questions about Morocco and Islam are: diet and clothing. As Table 74 below shows, a large number of students said that Moroccans and/or Muslims do not or cannot eat pork; that Islam does not allow followers to eat pork; and that Moroccans/Muslims cannot or do not drink alcohol. A couple of children also mentioned that Moroccans eat couscous.

Table 74. Summary of qualitative data: Code 7 (Dietary specifics)

Code	Dietary specifics
Examples	- "People do not eat pork […]" (AG10) - "[they] do not eat PORK!" (AG13) - "[they] cannot eat pork […]" (AG15) (EG6) (DV29) (DV39) (DV40) (MU21) (AG43) (MC9) (PP17) (SD26) (SD29) - "Their religion prohibits them from eating pork." (PP22) - "[…] some do not eat pork (the majority) […]" (PP23) - "[they] eat couscous" (PP34) - "[They] do not eat pork. Because it carries many diseases." (PP42) - "[They] do not eat pork […]" (SD1) (SD3) (EG3) (EG4) (DV6) (DV23) (DV30) (DV35) (AG10) (AG15) (AG19) (PP31) (SD61) (SD77) - "[…] according to a legend pork is forbidden […]" (SD2) - "[They] do not eat pork for religious matters…" (SD32) - "Usually [they] eat with many vegetables. [They] cannot eat pork (Muslims)." (SD41) - "[…] some foods like couscous, mint tea…" (SD48) - "[I] do not know anything [they] have told me that [they] cannot drink, nor [can they] eat pork" (EG20) - "[…] men cannot eat pork […]" (DV1) - "[they] cannot eat pork" (DV5) (DV20) (DV28) (DV33) (AG22) - "[they] do not eat pork and cannot drink alcohol nor things that contain it." (DV8) - "[They] do not eat pork. […] [They] cannot drink alcohol." (DV9) - "[they] do not eat pork, do not drink alcohol […]" (DV11) - "[they] do not eat pork, and do not drink wine" (DV13) - "[it] is prohibited to eat pork" (MU22) - "That [they] cannot eat ham […]" (MU23) - "[It] does not permit you to eat pork, and like chicken and meat have to be blessed" (AG7)

Table 74 (cont.). Summary of qualitative data: Code 7 (Dietary specifics)

Code	Dietary Specifics (cont.)
Examples	- "Islam does not permit you to eat pork meat." (AG8) - "[they] cannot eat pork meat and beef if it is not blessed." (AG12) - […] followers do not eat pork […]" (AG18) - "[Islam] does not let eat pork" (AG24) - "[you] do not have to eat pork, neither alcohol nor smoking […]" (MC14) - "They are prohibited from eating pork meat." (PP22) - "That [they] do not eat ham […]" (PP29) - "That one cannot feed oneself pork […]" (SD2) - "In reality in Islam one cannot drink alcohol etc." (SD13) - "One cannot eat pork." (SD34) - "[…] one eats neither pork nor alcohol." (SD37) - "The lamb holiday that a lamb is eaten Ramadan that one does not eat during one month and when the sun goes down." (SD78) - "[you] cannot drink alcohol […]" (EG18)

In relation to diet, several students also mentioned Ramadan and elaborated on it (see Table 75 below). It is interesting to note that the only response that came from an elementary school was provided by an 11-year-old girl from Morocco who came to Spain in 2001.

Table 75. Summary of qualitative data: Code 8 (Ramadan)

Code	Ramadan
Examples	- "[they] do Ramadan (1 month without eating)" (AG15) - "[…] they cannot eat anything [during] Ramadan" (PP21) - "That [they] do Ramadan, that is, that [they] cannot eat until the night" (SD10) - "[they] have to do Ramadan one month a year […]" (AG12) - "That [they] do Ramadan, and kill a lamb" (JM11) - "The traditional holiday is Ramadan and one tries to do more or less like a diet." (SD53) - "The lamb holiday that a lamb is eaten Ramadan that one does not eat during one month and when the sun goes down." (SD78) - "[…] If a girl already has her period has to do the entire Ramadan and if [during] Ramadan she gets it has to stop and [return/give back] the days when [it] ends." (MU25)

As already discussed above, clothing, in particular women's clothing, was the second most often recurring theme (i.e. besides diet) among students' answers. A very large number of students from different schools (public and private, elementary and secondary) said that Muslim women wear or have to wear a headscarf/veil. A few children say that Muslim women wear *burqa* or *hijab*. A couple of students also say that women and/or girls cannot wear short clothes. Although most of the children only said that Muslim women wear a headscarf, there were some significant differences between the more detailed responses provided by non-Moroccan/Muslim and Moroccan/Muslim students. For example, a 15-year-old girl born in Spain to Filipino parents who attends the *centro concertado* SD said that Muslim "women wear a black headscarf which covers their whole face and a dress, all black." A 14-year-old girl from Colombia who arrived in Spain in 2008 and who attends a public secondary school said that "people of Islam wear [something] like sheets on their head for their religion." A 15-year-old boy from Spain who attends the *centro concertado* SD said

that Moroccan/Muslim "people dress women very religiously with hijab" (see Table 76 below).

Table 76. Summary of qualitative data: Code 9 (Clothing)

Code	Clothing
Examples	- "[…] and [people] cannot wear short clothes." (AG10) - "[…] women have to wear headscarf […]" (AG15) - "[..] women wear a headscarf on the head" (AG38) - "[I] know that people of Islam wear like sheets on their head for their religion" (MC13) - "[…] some women or girls have to wear a headscarf on the head" (MC64) - "Women wear burqa […]" (PP20) - "[…] women wear burqa (headscarf)" (PP23) - "(some) wear a headscarf on their head […]" (SD1) - "[…] many women wear a headscarf […]" (SD2) - "[…] girls sometimes wear a headscarf […]" (SD3) - "[…] women cover their face […]" (SD8) - "[…] clothes, that women's clothes…" (SD11) - "[…] people dress women very religiously with hijab" (SD46) - "those from Morocco are dressed covered […]" (EG25) - "[They] have to […] and wear a veil […]" (DV5) - "That women have to wear a veil because in our culture [it] would be naked and because of this [they] wear a veil." (DV6) - "That women have to use a veil […]" (DV8) - "Women wear the headscarf." (DV9) - "That women have to wear the veil […]" (DV11) - "[they] wear a veil […]" (DV21) - "That women wear a headscarf […]" (DV29) - "Women have to wear headscarves." (DV33) - "That women have to wear a headscarf on the head." (DV35) - "That women have to wear a headscarf […]" (DV37) (DV39) (DV40) - "people women have to wear headscarves" (DV38) - "[I] only know that [they] wear a headscarf" (GL29) - "[…] women wear a veil […]" (MU27) (AG18) - "[…] girls cannot use short clothes." (AG10) - "[…] women are very covered and with a veil […]" (AG15) - "[…] the head of women cannot be seen" (AG43) - "That in Islam women, girls wear a headscarf on the head […]" (MC106) - "Women have to wear a veil […]" (SD37)

Table 76 (cont.). Summary of qualitative data: Code 9 (Clothing)

Code	Clothing (cont.)
Examples	- "[…] women wear a black headscarf which covers their whole face and a dress, all black" (SD42) - "[…] ladies wear a burqa." (SD45) - "[…] women have to put on a headscarf because of respect for Allah the god of sun […]" (SD52) - "[we] always go with a headscarf on the head. [We] do not go without a headscarf…" (SD61) - "[you] have to go covered […]" (EG2) - "That [you] have to wear a headscarf […]" (EG15) - "[…] women have to wear a veil […]" (EG18) - "That [they] cannot pray with short pants because the knees should not be seen" (DV3) - "That in Islam grown-up women from 10 on have to cover their head." (GL4) - "Women's ankle should not be seen and the hair and the breasts. […]" (MU25)

Thus, based on these data, it can be concluded that some children at Spanish schools have a partial understating or misperception of Muslim women's clothing. Some of them equate it with the *burqa* or *hijab*; some of them believe it was entirely imposed on them by their religion and/or men. This is in sharp contrast to what was said by some Moroccan/Muslim children. For instance, an 11-year-old girl from Morocco who attends CEIP MU only said that"[w]omen's ankle should not be seen and the hair and the breasts." In addition, there are some occasional mistakes regarding Islam, which signify major gaps in some children's knowledge. For example, a 16-year-old Spanish boy from the *centro concertado* SD mentioned Allah as "the god of sun" (see Table 76 above).

Some of the students' responses also touched on gender relations within Islam. These responses are mainly related to gender inequality, women's dependency on

men, and lack of respect for women. Two elementary school children also said, respectively, that "women cannot go out without their husbands or sons" and that "[Islam] prohibits women from going out alone in the street" (see Table 77 below). Interestingly, they both are from South America. The first one is a 12-year-old girl from Bolivia who came to Spain in 2006 and who attends CEIP EG; the second one is a 12-year-old boy from Colombia who came to Spain in 1999 and who attends CEIP DV. In addition, a couple of secondary students hinted at the sexist nature of Islam. One of them said that Muslims are "very sexist" and the other one said that women "cannot have sexual relations until marriage […]" (see Table 77). Although some of these statements are partially right or apply to only some Muslims in some regions of the world, they do indicate the perpetuation of certain stereotypes and misperceptions related to Islam and Muslims.

Table 77. Summary of qualitative data: Code 10 (Gender relations)

Code	**Gender relations**
Examples	- "[I know] that they are not very respectful of women […]" (AG24) - "[…] women depend on men […]" (SD8) - "[…] inequality of gender […]" (SD42) - "[…] Morocco has a culture a bit harsh with women […]" (SD46) - "People that women cannot go out without their husbands or sons […]" (EG43) - "That [they] are very sexist[392] […]" (AG15) - "[Islam] does not respect women much" (AG24) - "[…] women do not work […]" (SD61) -"[Islam] prohibits women from going out alone in the street" (DV28) - "[they] cannot have sexual relations until marriage (women)" (PP31)

[392] The word used by the students is "machistas".

This is also true for the responses related to polygamy, which are listed in Table 78 below. The students who provided these answers said that Muslim men can have more than one wife; that they practice polygamy; or, that polygamy is permitted in Islam. One student also added that a Muslim "woman cannot marry more than one man." The distribution of these responses across schools is quite uneven. All seven of them come from public secondary schools, five of which come from IES AG. This can either signify considerable variations across schools in terms of knowledge transmission or can simply be the result of a group response.

Table 78. Summary of qualitative data: Code 11 (Polygamy)

Code	**Polygamy**
Examples	- "[…] man can have more than one woman […]" (PP31) (AG15) - "[…] men practice polygamy." (AG18) - "[…] and that polygamy is permitted" (AG19) - "[it] permits polygamy" (AG23) - "A man cannot marry more than 4 women and a woman cannot marry more than one man." (AG42) - "[They] are permitted to have more than one wife […]" (MC102)

Although only two students mentioned Ceuta and Melilla in their responses, these were included in the analysis because of a couple of interesting observations related to them. First, both responses came from students at the *centro concertado* SD. Second, the secondary school student – a 13-year-old girl born in Spain to a Spanish mother and Uruguayan father - said that Ceuta and Melilla "were Spanish colonies," whereas the elementary school student – an 11-year-old girl born to Spanish parents – said that Morocco "has two cities that belong to Spain (Ceuta and Melilla)." Based on these observations, it can be concluded that children in Spanish schools either know very

little about Ceuta and Melilla or they just do not immediately associate these cities with Morocco. Also, it is interesting to note that the mother of the 11-year-old girl, who provided the more correct answer, is a schoolteacher. This could, at least partially, explain the girl's response and further reinforce the argument that answers like this are more exceptions than the rule.

Table 79. Summary of qualitative data: Code 12 (Ceuta and Melilla)

Code	Ceuta and Melilla
Examples	- "Ceuta and Melilla were Spanish colonies." (SD1) - "[It] has two cities that belong to Spain (Ceuta and Melilla)." (SD68)

The following two tables (Table 80 and Table 81) list those responses related to Morocco and Islam that contain (much) more information than the majority of students' answers. As Table 80 below shows, the responses related to Morocco came primarily from secondary school students and even these are quite unevenly distributed across schools. Two of the eight responses came from IES AG and the remaining five came from the *centro concertado* SD. It is important to note that three of the five children from SD have a special connection to Morocco: one of them is a 15-year-old Moroccan girl who came to Spain in 1999; one of them is a 16-year-old girl born in Spain to Moroccan parents; one of them is a 16-year-old girl born to a Spanish mother and Argentine father who has visited Morocco. The only response that came from an elementary school was the one provided by a 10-year-old girl from Ecuador who came to Spain in 2005.

Table 80. Summary of qualitative data: Code 13A (Information-rich answers: Morocco)

Code	Information-rich answers: Morocco
Examples	- "Part of Morocco was Spanish, the zone of Sahara; [it] was also a French protectorate. [It] is an Islamic country, [it] is a land rich in fruits such as dates, etc. The capital is Rabat, other very important cities are Casablanca and Marrakesh." (AG22) - "[It] is a country located in North Africa with desert climate, [it] has a poor economy in comparison with Europe, but rich in comparison with the rest of Africa. The history entails the sending of troops to Spain, which is known as Andalusia and which tried to invade Spain. In this country there is disequilibrium with disadvantage for women, with fewer opportunities than men (work…) the language of this country is mainly Arabic, French and a little Spanish." (AG23) - "North of Morocco, Arabic and French are spoken, [it] was a Spanish and French colony, the religion which predominates is the Muslim. Capital Rabat, other cities Tangier, Marrakech, etc… [It] is a parliamentary monarchy." (SD37) - "The Muslim religion is practiced. [It] is in Africa. [They] do Ramadan. Usually [they] eat with many vegetables. [They] cannot eat pork (Muslims). Life is generally in the countryside. The currency is dirham." (SD41) - "[It] is located in the north of Africa, its capital is Rabat and Casablanca is one of the biggest and most touristic cities. [It] was colonized by France and England but even so resisted, in the past belonged to the Jews and still there is a monarchy (Muhammad VI). There are very different cultures, people are very different in every part of Morocco and different dialects of Arabic are spoken (Moroccan Berber etc.) (SD55) - "[It] is located in North Africa, Arabic is spoken, the majority of the population is Muslim, conquered Spain, and suffered the colonization of France. [It] has traditions like Ramadan, festival of lamb,[393] etc. And characteristic music." (SD56) - "Geographically [it] is in North Africa, historically [it] was in the Middle Ages an Islamic empire ([I] believe Turkish), then [it] was a colony of France and Spain and Germany fought for it. There are different types of ethnic groups in Morocco but I do not remember what. Generally, the culture is Islamic but women are recognized. Arabic is spoken." (SD57) - "[I] know that [they] have different ways of speaking Arabic, that [they] do Ramadan, also that [they] do festivals where [they] kill lambs. [I] know that the capital of Morocco is Rabat." (EG31)

[393] I have translated "fiesta del cordero" literally, i.e. "festival of lamb". It refers to the major Muslim holiday Eid al-Kabir ("Greater Eid") or Eid al-Adha ("Festival of Sacrifice").

As Table 81 below demonstrates, the responses related to Islam came only from secondary school students and even these came only from one of the four secondary schools which took part in the survey, IES MC. In addition, all three responses came from children who, most probably, are Muslim and have been raised by Muslim parents. One of them is a 13-year-old girl born in Spain to Moroccan parents. The second one is a 14-year-old girl born in Spain to a Moroccan mother and an Algerian father. The third one is a 13-year-old student[394] from Bangladesh who came to Spain in 2006.

Table 81. Summary of qualitative data: Code 13B (Information-rich answers: Islam)

Code	Information-rich answers: Islam
Examples	- "Islam is a religion, Islam is also my religion […]. One has to pray five times a day read Quran. Behave well not tell lies not drink alcohol not steal and do Ramadan when [you] are older in a house of Allah to Saudi Arabia in Mecca" (MC81) - "That [they] pray a lot, that [they] believe in one god, that [they] do not eat pork, that [they] do Ramadan, that [they] were in Spain, that [they] have invented many things, etc." (MC91) - "That [they] have to obey god, also a sacred book "Quran", [they] have to pray, not eat pork, not smoke, nor drink, go at least once to Mecca, give alms to the poor…" (MC104)

Based on the data laid out in Table 80 and Table 81 above, it can be concluded that the level of students' familiarity with Morocco and/or Islam varies significantly across schools. These variations can be observed not only between different types of schools (i.e. elementary vs. secondary, public vs. private) but also among schools of the same type. In general, according to the results, it seems that secondary schools students

[394] There is no information about this student's gender.

know more about Morocco and Islam than elementary school students, which is not surprising. However, this does not necessarily mean that the number of years spent at school is directly proportional to the amount of knowledge acquired with regard to Morocco and Islam. In fact, as illustrated by Table 80, responses containing more detailed information about Morocco were provided by only one of the four public secondary schools, IES AG. In addition, as illustrated by Table 81, responses containing more detailed information about Islam were also provided by only one of the four public secondary schools, IES MC. This evidence, together with individual students' characteristics, suggests that the level of familiarity with Morocco and Islam is affected to a greater extent by students' personal connection to the country and the religion[395] rather than by the number of years of schooling.

The following three tables, Tables 82-84, list students' responses which are generally more detailed than the majority of answers; that touch on slightly different topics/themes; and/or that are indicative of certain perceptions and/or attitudes. Based on their level of neutrality, they are divided into three categories: positive (Table 82), neutral (Table 83), and negative (Table 84).[396] The "positive" responses laid out in Table 76 below are related to Moroccan food, Moroccan people's hospitality and other virtues, Islam, Muslim values, gender relations and equity. There are a few interesting observations with regard to these responses. First, all of them but one come from secondary school students. Second, about half of the children who provided these

[395] "Personal connection" here refers to the individual student's connection to Morocco and/or Islam, i.e. whether he/she is Moroccan and/or Muslim, whether he/she was born in Morocco, whether he/she was born to Moroccan/Muslim parents, etc.

[396] The main purpose of creating these categories, which are more or less arbitrary, was to facilitate the process of looking for patterns and tendencies rather than strictly labeling the individual responses.

answers come from Pakistan, Morocco, Syria, etc. and are most likely Muslim. Third, about half of the responses came from the *centro concertado* SD, including the one given by an elementary school student. Fourth, there are significant similarities between the answers provided by children from the same school. For example, three children from SD referred, directly or indirectly, to Moroccan people's hospitality, as well as three children from CEIP PP say that Islam is "a very good religion."

Table 82. Summary of qualitative data: Code 14A (Exceptions – positive)

Code	Exceptions – positive
Examples	- "I love the food of Morocco." (PP42) - "[they] are very hospitable." (SD1) (SD9) - "[…] people offer you everything when you go to their house…" (SD32) - "That [it] is empty (because of excess of people), [they] are polite although they take fast over the territory, [they] are good people, clean, [I] like them very much, there is more than one language, [it] is very nice, [they are] a little poor but humble and with lots of ideas, and [they] always look for good excuses to tell to escape and [they] live misled/deceived" (SD52) - "The capital of Morocco is Rabat. [It] is a quite developed country, has many rivers. People are educated and quiet. Their religion is Muslim and some can be Hindu. The languages that [they] speak are Moroccan and English. Their religion the most typical is to visit Palestine, as if it were holy the city of Palestine." (SD53) - "People very kind" (SD72) - "good words" (MC113) - "[It] is a monotheistic religion. There is only one god: Allah. The last prophet of Islam is the prophet Muhammad. The main obligations are 5. [It] is the first religion that makes men and women equal. Islam is the religion of right and peace…" (JM2) - "[I] believe that [it] is a very good religion, there are all the possibilities that we want." (PP3) (PP10) - "[I] believe that [it] is a very good religion." (PP9) - "Almost everything, how to pray, the traditions the 5 most important rules to be Muslim, the Respect and also to be better with my folks. One who believes in something (in my case en Allah (God)) and that respects him and says the prayers to him and all that school and [things] with family and friends go well for him. What [you] ask him for with the heart and with desire He gives it to you." (PP19)

Table 82 (cont.). Summary of qualitative data: Code 14A (Exceptions – positive)

Code	Exceptions – positive (cont.)
Examples	- "[It] is a religion in which the prophet is Muhammad and has like a sacred book the Quran, which was dictated by god to Muhammad. In the history of Islam there has been a lot of spilled blood. Before Islam girls who were born were a punishment, later Islam respects them although the contrary is believed." (SD55) - "One has to respect other religions." (AG42) - "That [it] is a true religion and [I] have proved many times and [I] believe in Islam" (MC33) - "Islam is a very sacred religion." (SD13)

As for the "neutral" responses listed in Table 83 below, they are not obviously negative or positive but they are more or less unique compared to the majority of students' answers. These responses indicate certain perceptions and understandings. They touch on such topics as marriage, Ramadan, Muslim holidays, Quran, prayer, food, clothing, history, etc. A few observations were made regarding these answers. First, most of them come from elementary school students. Second, a large number of these responses were provided by students of Moroccan origin or non-Moroccan Muslim students. This is particularly true for answers provided by elementary school children. For instance, two of the three students from CEIP MU, whose responses are listed in the table below, are of Moroccan origin, as well as six of the seven students from CEIP GL are of Moroccan, Pakistani and/or Algerian origin.[397] Third, there are striking similarities between the responses provided by students from CEIP DV. This could be attributed either to students' copying each other's responses or to some level of teachers' intervention.

[397] Two of the seven students have Algerian fathers.

Table 83. Summary of qualitative data: Code 14B (Exceptions – neutral)

Code	Exceptions – neutral
Examples	- "[…] that they get married very young" (JM23) - "In some parts people look for fight but Morocco is very quiet and with many tourists" (PP11) - "[…] the religion from my point of view there are some things that should not be done, but ok. But [it] is a culture like any other." (SD54) - "Two cents from here, Spain, there in Morocco, [we] can buy a stick of bread/French loaf." (SD59) - "What [I] know about Morocco is that [I] know the language which is Arabic and that [they] wear a headscarf because if [they] do not wear it as if [they] do not respect god and that [they] eat couscous and my father is from there and [I] have been to Morocco […]" (MU17) - "In Morocco Ramadan is done 1 month per year. There are Eid Kabir Eid Saghir. Every Friday couscous is made and water is given to the people in need. There is the Quran which lays what has to be done and what does not." (MU25) - "Even less than about Morocco. But [I] know that [it] is like many other religions." (AG17) - "History – Wars occur, where the leader has a dream or a vision." (SD18) - "[it] is a religion like any other, that [it] has many practicants" (SD54) - "[It] is a religion, Muhammad is its messiah, Quran is its sacred book, and it has some similarity to the ancient Christian testament, [they] have holidays like the lamb holiday, Ramadan, etc." (SD56) - "In the mosque [they] have to be on knees, and the rest I do not remember" (DV6) - "Almost nothing. Only that [they] do not eat pork, that [they] wear a veil and that [they] go to the mosque" (DV7) - "That in the mosques [they] have to kneel down." (DV8) - "In the mosque [they] cannot be seated." (DV9) - "Little. That [they] cannot enter the mosque with shoes, that [they] cannot pray with short pants, [they] have to wear a [veil, headscarf]." (DV11) - "that [we] have one god that [we] have to go to the mosque that [we] cannot eat ham" (GL7) - "that [we] cannot eat ham nor drink alcohol" (GL9) - "That there is only one god. Our sacred book is Quran, [we] cannot eat pork…" (GL15) - "Well that our god has made us pray and read Quran. And that [we] cannot eat nor drink that is neither eat pork nor drink wine. [We] always have to eat something Halal, Allah makes us [do] this." (GL19)

Table 83 (cont.). Summary of qualitative data: Code 14B (Exceptions – neutral)

Code	Exceptions – neutral (cont.)
Examples	- "Muhammad […] is the last prophet that [we] have more than 100 prophets in the Quran [it] explains to you everything even says [the] name[s] of the prophets god has 100 something name[s] […]" (GL34) - "that we only have one god and pray with a blanket similar and pray" (GL36) - "[it] is not [allowed] to eat pork. [They] have only one god that is […] Allah" (GL42) - "[I] know about Islam that [they] prohibit to eat pork, that there is Quran and [they] pray in the mosque 5 times" (MU17) - "[I] know in Islam [it] is prohibited to eat pork, that [it] is in the Quran and [they] pray in the mosque 5 times" (MU18)

With regard to the "negative" responses laid out in Table 84 below, they are relatively few and concern primarily issues such as gender relations and crime. All these six answers come from secondary school students. The two responses which touch on sexism/machismo are those provided by a 16 year-old Spanish boy from SD and an 18-year-old Colombian boy from IES PP. In addition, a 15-year Spanish girl from IES AG describes Moroccans as "very uncommunicative," while a 16-year-old Chinese girl from IES PP mentions Morocco as a place "where there are always wars" and where "people are poor." It is interesting that the only two answers which refer to Moroccans as "thieves" and "people who steal a lot" come from Pakistani boys: a 14-year-old one attending IES MC and a 16-year-old attending IES AG.

Table 84. Summary of qualitative data: Code 14C (Exceptions - negative)

Code	Exceptions – negative
Examples	- "Machismo reigns." (PP27) -"[I know] that they are very uncommunicative."[398] (AG24) - "people who steal a lot and traffic drugs […]" (AG33) - "Moroccans are people that there are some Muslims and also thieves" (MC83) - "that, there are always wars there, people are poor" (PP26) - "[Islam] is very sexist […] and [they] live misled, etc." (SD52)

Based on the data laid out in Tables 82-84, a few conclusions can be drawn. First, the distribution of responses containing more details about Morocco and/or Islam is quite uneven, not only among schools of different types (elementary vs. secondary, public vs. private) but also among schools of the same type. Second, the majority of these answers come from secondary school students but, very often, they are partially incorrect and/or indicative of certain misperceptions and stereotypes (see also Table 85[399] below). Third, the responses which reveal higher levels of familiarity with Morocco and/or Islam on part of the students usually come from children with personal connection to the country and/or the religion. Fourth, there are recurring themes within students' responses which indicate the existence and perpetuation of stereotypes related to values, religious practices, modes of behavior, gender relations, and ways of living.

[398] The word the student uses is "cerrados", which literally means "closed."

[399] The purpose of Table 79 is not to present a comprehensive list of all factually incorrect responses given by children at the nine schools but, rather, to provide a sample of them. Some of these answers might also be found in some of the other tables above.

Table 85. Summary of qualitative data: Code 15 (Factually incorrect)

Code	Factually incorrect
Examples	- "[…] the religion that is practiced is Islamism." (AG12) - "That the sacred book of Islamists is Quran" (MC39) - "little… [I] know that [it] is a language that is spoken and was spoken in other times" (MC73) - "That [it] is a religion that Muhammad made." (MC99) - "That [it] is a polytheist religion, [they] believe in Allah." (SD32) - "[It] is the religion that some Muslims practice." (SD41) - "[…] women have to put on a headscarf because of respect for Allah the god of sun […]" (SD52) - "The typical that people have like an obligation to visit Palestine for that of Mecca." (SD53) - "[they] do not listen to music […]" (SD61) (SD77) - "that Morocco is in Asia" (GL40) - "That [it/he] is a Moroccan" (GL47) - "That Allah is their king […]" (MU22)

5.2.2. Qualitative Part: Teachers

As already mentioned above, the qualitative part of the teacher survey was shaped by the same research questions which shaped the qualitative part of the student survey, i.e.: 1) What indications, if any, are there for existing stereotypes, prejudices, etc. among students and teachers towards Moroccan students or Moroccans in general?; 2) What indications, if any, are there for existing stereotypes, prejudices, etc. among students and teachers towards Muslims and/or Islam? Unlike the student survey, which included open-ended questions shaped by these two research questions, the teacher survey had sections for comments following each of the first three parts of the survey (i.e. Students, Staff, and Curriculum).[400] The purpose of these sections was to

[400] See Appendix (pp. 353-264).

provide an insight into teachers' perceptions, opinions, and attitudes with regards to Moroccan students, Moroccans in general, Muslims and Islam.

Unlike the data gathered from students' responses to open-ended questions, the information collected from teacher surveys is much more limited in size.[401] Consequently, this information contains very few themes and, because of this, only one code (i.e. discipline) was developed. The results are laid out in Table 86 below.

Table 86. Summary of teacher qualitative data: Discipline

Code	Discipline
Examples	- "It is hard for them to conform to norms and behavior at the time of resolving problems (conflicts). Assuming the role that [they] have. And resolving problems almost always in a violent way. Many cases inspired by the family context that surrounds them." (DV1 referring to Moroccan students) - "[I] believe that the problems with performance and behavior of Moroccan boys and Muslims in general come from their culture." (DV2 referring to Moroccan boys, not girls) - "In general these groups with lowest performance is due to that [they] have not been schooled. Moroccan boys do not accept the norms of discipline easily." (DV4 referring to Moroccan students, especially boys) - "[They] react with violence in the face of a conflict." (DV7 referring to Moroccan students) - "It is very hard for them to accept the rules and norms of the school. It is very hard for them to talk/have a conversation and develop emotional intelligence (boys)." (DV8 referring to Moroccan students)

It is important to note that all the negative comments listed above with regard to Moroccan students' discipline, in particular that of Moroccan boys, come from the same school, the CEIP DV. Another interesting observation is that not a single teacher at the CEIP DV has shared the opinion of a large portion of the whole teacher sample,

[401] As mentioned in Chapter 4, the teacher survey was designed with the goal of supplementing the data gathered from student surveys, rather than constituting the basis of the study.

i.e. that ethnicity has little or nothing to do with academic performance. This consistency in the responses provided by teachers at the CEIP DV indicates either that there are major problems with the discipline of Moroccan children at the school, or that teachers' perceptions and opinions of Moroccan students (particularly boys) and their discipline are quite negative. Moreover, some of these answers even reveal certain stereotypes related to Islam and its "violent" nature (e.g. "[…] the problems with performance and behavior of Moroccan boys and Muslims in general come from their culture.).

Besides the comments related to discipline, teachers from the nine schools also wrote about the relationship between ethnicity and performance in school, as well as about the exposure of students at their respective schools to other cultures. However, since these comments do not reveal specific perceptions of and attitudes towards Moroccans, Muslims and Islam, they are only briefly summarized below.

A total of fourteen teachers elaborated on the raletionship between ethnicity and academic performance. Ten of them are from public elementary schools and the remaining four are from public secondary schools. The individual responses are laid in Table 87 below.

Table 87. Summary of teacher qualitative data: Ethnicity and academic performance

Teacher Number	School	Age	Gender	Subject	Response
1	IES AG	44	M	Social sciences	"[…] there are outstanding students in every ethnic group and [it] changes much by rural, urban, etc. destination zones."
2	IES MC	31	M	Physics and chemistry	"The differences between students are more related to the time that [they] spend in the country than to their origin."
3	IES MC	34	M	Catalan	"The [academic] performance and discipline have nothing or little to do with the origin. On the other hand, [it] has more to do with family, education in the place of origin and the time [he/she] spends in the country."
4	IES MC	36	F	Catalan	"In general, [it] is impossible to attribute aptitudes and abilities in relation to the country of origin. [It] depends on every student, his/her family or personal determinants, his/her progress in learning."
5	CEIP EG	32	F	Math, Catalan, plastic arts	"[Academic] performance does not depend on your ethnic origin but on whether [you] were born in the country or no where [you] are schooled, your family upbringing, your studies ([you] have been schooled, etc.)"
6	CEIP EG	54	M	N/A	"[Academic] performance and integration depend on the time that [they] spend here, on their cultural, economic and integration situation."

Table 87 (cont.). Summary of teacher qualitative data: Ethnicity and academic performance

Teacher Number	School	Age	Gender	Subject	Response
7	CEIP EG	67	M	N/A	"The proximity of Morocco, the culture during so many centuries integrated in ours, can be a reason for the ease of their integration, in any case [it] depends on the level of their economic, cultural situation and the time that [they] spend here."
8	CEIP GL	36	M	N/A	"The performance of Moroccans depends on different factors such as the time of schooling, attendance, cultural and family ambience, socio-economic factors… etc."
9	CEIP GL	38	F	Catalan, Spanish, math, socio-natural sciences, plastic arts	"[Academic] performance of many children […] is determined by the importance which fathers and mothers assign to the schooling of their children."
10	CEIP GL	49	M	Languages, math, socio-natural sciences	"A determining variable in the [academic] performance is the "social level" of origin within the own ethnic group which entails the existence or non-existence of previous schooling."
11	CEIP MU	64	F	Catalan	"Precisely in our school ideology to classify, evaluate, label in any way the students according to the origin of the family or place of birth [we] consider it bad taste not to say something stronger."

Table 87 (cont.). Summary of teacher qualitative data: Ethnicity and academic performance

Teacher Number	School	Age	Gender	Subject	Response
12	CEIP MU	43	F	Catalan, Math	"[Academic] performance, like integration or discipline problems are more related to the upbringing of the families from which the students come and the social problems which these present."
13	CEIP MU	50	F	Special education	"[…] The differences are not in the "ethnic" but in the people, i.e. their specificities, their environment, their interests, their individualities."
14	CEIP MU	44	M	N/A	"In the classroom there are many nationalities, the academic achievement is related to the time that [they] spend in Catalonia, to the type of family not to their nationality."

A total of eleven teachers made comments with regard to the exposure of students at their respective schools to other cultures. Eight of them are from public elementary schools and the remaining three are from public secondary schools. The individual responses are laid in Table 88 below.

Table 88. Summary of teacher qualitative data: Students' exposure at school to other cultures

Teacher Number	School	Age	Gender	Subject	Response
1	IES MC[402]	34	M	Catalan	"[I] suppose that the knowledge of other cultures and traditions is a job that is still to come."
2	IES JM	49	F	Sciences	"[It] seems to me that also in no country (including Morocco) [it] is taught neither much nor little about other cultures. [It] forms part of the "normality" to work according to the closest context. Of course, as you do not do it, respecting the language of here, the survey in Catalan?"[403]
3	IES PP	56	M	Philosophy	"Moroccan students and others have a more offered and complete education in Catalonia than their country […]"
4	CEIP EG[404]	32	F	Math, Catalan, plastic arts	"School, [I] believe, is not the place to teach any type of religion, neither only the Catholic which is taught."
5	CEIP EG	32	M	N/A	"[It] is evident that with the great number of Moroccan students the presence of teachers of that origin would be necessary."

Table 88 (cont.). Summary of teacher qualitative data: Students' exposure at school to other cultures

[402] The same teacher as teacher number 3 in Table 87.

[403] This last statement was a criticism directed at me and my survey, which was available only in Spanish (I was advised in Spain, before I conducted the surveys, that I do not need to have them translated into Catalan).

[404] The same teacher as teacher number 5 in Table 87.

Teacher Number	School	Age	Gender	Subject	Response
6	CEIP DV	51	F	N/A	"[It] is impossible to go in depth about these aspects with the great diversity of cultures there are in the school, and [it] seems to me more logical to study the one of the place where [we] are, having in mind that [they] are in an elementary school."
7	CEIP DV	29	F	Physical education	"[It] is taught extracurricularly for students native speakers but also classes are given to all the teachers who want to impart them."
8	CEIP GL	36	M	Plastic and visual arts	"All the topics related to Morocco (culture, geography, history, religion…) are treated according to the classroom program. That, happens with all the countries of the world, and can vary according to the objectives and contents of the program of the course."
9	CEIP GL[405]	38	F	Catalan, Spanish, socio-natural sciences, plastic arts	"[…] Every group has its own buildings (churches, mosques…) to practice it."

Table 88 (cont.). Summary of teacher qualitative data: Students' exposure at school to other cultures

[405] The same teacher as number 9 in Table 87.

Teacher Number	School	Age	Gender	Subject	Response
10	CEIP MU[406]	64	F	Catalan	"In the classes of Alternativa (a majority of students do not have Catholic religion) [information] is given (from grade 1 to 6) about other cultures, religions, art, etc. and during Cultural Week various […] are dedicated to cultural activities about other countries from which our students or their families come."
11	CEIP MU[407]	44	M	N/A	"[It is not possible] to teach the culture of all the nationalities existing at school."

In addition to the comments listed in Table 87 and Table 88, a 32-year-old male teacher at CEIP EG (the same as number 5 in Table 88) wrote: "The integration depends on the years in Spain but in general Moroccans have a culture more close to ours." Another interesting comment was made by a 30-year old female teacher of Catalan and English at CEIP GL, referring to Bangladeshi students: "The difficulties of communication provoke conflicts, which are hard to resolve because of the lack of understanding."

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

[406] The same teacher as number 11 in Table 87.

[407] The same teacher as number 14 in Table 87. This opinion was shared by a 50-year-old female teacher at the same school (the same as number 13 in Table 87).

6.1. Introduction

The principal goal of this study is to find out the extent to which the concept of integration as a two-way process has been incorporated in the curriculum and school environment of Spanish elementary and secondary schools. In order to achieve this goal, two different surveys were designed and distributed among students and teachers, respectively, at four public elementary schools, four public secondary schools, and one *centro concertado* in Ciutat Vella, a district of Barcelona. The results of these surveys are laid out in the previous chapter and are summarized below (see 6.2.). However, before proceeding with the summary and discussion of the results, it is important to locate curriculum and school environment within the larger context of theories of schooling, integration, minority education and social mobility.

6.2. Summary of the Findings

The tables below (Tables 89) list the research questions that have guided the design of the surveys, the corresponding survey questions and the respective results. It also shows what theories and empirical studies the research and survey questions are based on.

Tables 89. Summary of the findings

Table 89A: Summary of the findings: Numbers, distribution and concentration of Moroccan students at Spanish schools

Research Question	Corresponding Survey Questions	Theory/Empirical Studies	Findings
What are the numbers, distribution and concentration of Moroccan students at Spanish schools?	- Are there (any) Moroccan boys and girls at your school? (student survey) - If yes, how many? (student survey) - Approximately what percentage of your students are Moroccans? (teacher survey) [- Compared to previous years, the number of your Moroccan students is… (much smaller, smaller, similar, bigger, much bigger)? (teacher survey)][408] (In addition, data were collected from the Departament d'Educació.)	*Immigrant education policies:* - Mijares Molina (2006)[409] *Integration as a two-way process:* - Martín Muñoz *et al*. (2003) *School environment:* - Portes and Rumbaut (2001) - Inglis and Manderson (1991) - Barrington (1991) - Kolev (2004) - Shimahara (1991) - Lindo (2000)	1) The absolute numbers of Moroccan students compared to those of native students are still relatively small but their presence is significant, particularly at some elementary and secondary schools. 2) The distribution of Moroccan students is quite uneven among different types of schools, as well as among schools of the same type. 3) The overwhelming majority of students and school staff are aware of the presence of Moroccan children at their respective schools.

Table 89B: Summary of the findings: Teachers and staff of Moroccan origin at Spanish schools

Research Question	Corresponding Survey Questions	Theory/Empirical Studies	Findings

[408] The questions in [ ] are not directly related to the research question but are still relevant.

[409] Molina Mijares (2006) describes different types of immigrant education policies based on other scholars' work.

To what extent are teachers and staff of Moroccan origin represented at Spanish schools? What do Moroccans employed at Spanish schools do?	- Do you have (any) Moroccan teachers? (student survey) - If yes, how many? (student survey) - What do they teach? (student survey) - At your school, approximately how many teachers are Moroccan? (teacher survey) - What do they teach? (teacher survey) - Do you know (any) Moroccan people working at your school? (student survey) - If yes, what do they do? (student survey) - Approximately how many Moroccans work at your school? (teacher survey) - What do they do? (teacher survey)	*Immigrant and involuntary minorities:* - Ogbu (1991) *Integration as a two-way process:* - Martín Muñoz *et al*. (2003) *School environment:* - Portes and Rumbaut (2001) - Inglis and Manderson (1991) - Barrington (1991) - Kolev (2004) - Shimahara (1991) - Lindo (2000)	1) There are hardly any Moroccan teachers and staff at Spanish schools. Even at schools with significant presence of Moroccan children, there are either none or very few Moroccan teachers. 2) Even if there are Moroccan teachers at some of the schools, they teach primarily Arabic courses, which generally constitute part of schools' extracurricular activities. 3) The majority of Moroccans who work at Spanish schools and who are not teachers of Arabic are employed in custodial and food services.

Table 89C: Summary of the findings: Students' exposure to knowledge about Morocco and Morocco-related topics at Spanish schools

Research Question	Corresponding Survey Questions	Theory/Empirical Studies	Findings

How much do students in Spanish classrooms study about Morocco and Morocco-related topics?	- Where and how did you learn what you know about Morocco? (student survey) - How much do you study at school about Morocco, its geography, history, people, culture, languages, and religion? (student survey) - In what class(es) have you studied anything about Morocco? (student survey) - At your school, it is taught enough about the geography, history, culture, religion, languages, etc., of the countries which are not part of the "western world"? (completely agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, completely disagree)? (teacher survey) - At your school, it is taught enough about Morocco, its people, culture, geography, history, languages, etc.? (completely agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, completely disagree)? (teacher survey)	*Immigrant education policies:* - Mijares Molina (2006) *Integration as a two-way process:* - Martín Muñoz *et al*. (2003) *Curriculum:* - Portes and Rumbaut (2001) - Inglis and Manderson (1991) - Barrington (1991) - Kolev (2004) - Shimahara (1991)	1) Generally, students at Spanish schools study little, very little, or hardly anything about Morocco and Morocco-related topics. 2) "School" is the second major source of information about Morocco and Morocco-related topics (after "friends") for students at Spanish schools.

Table 89D: Summary of the findings: Students' exposure to knowledge about Islam at Spanish schools

Research Question	Corresponding Survey Questions	Theory/Empirical Studies	Findings

How much do students in Spanish classrooms study about Islam?	- Where and how did you learn what you know about Islam? (student survey) - In what class(es) have you studied anything related to Islam? (student survey) - At your school, it is taught enough about Islam? (completely agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, completely disagree)? (teacher survey)	*Immigrant education policies:* - Mijares Molina (2006) *Integration as a two-way process:* - Martín Muñoz *et al*. (2003) *Curriculum:* - Portes and Rumbaut (2001) - Inglis and Manderson (1991) - Barrington (1991) - Kolev (2004) - Shimahara (1991)	1) Generally, students at Spanish schools study little, very little, or hardly anything about Islam. 2) "School" is the not the main source of information about Islam for students at Spanish schools. It is only ranked fourth, preceded by "friends," "parents," and "TV."

Table 89E: Summary of the findings: Arabic language courses at Spanish schools

Research Question	**Corresponding Survey Questions**	**Theory/Empirical Studies**	**Findings**

To what extent are Arabic language courses offered at Spanish schools? Are they open to anybody interested?	[- Do you have (any) Moroccan teachers? What do they teach? (student survey)] - Arabic language courses are offered at your school? (no; yes, only for native speakers; yes, for anybody interested)? (teacher survey)	*Immigrant education policies:* - Mijares Molina (2006) *Integration as a two-way process:* - Martín Muñoz *et al*. (2003) *Curriculum:* - Portes and Rumbaut (2001) - Inglis and Manderson (1991) - Barrington (1991) - Kolev (2004) - Shimahara (1991)	1) Arabic language courses are not taught at (at least) some Spanish schools, even at some schools with significant numbers of Moroccan children. 2) Even when Arabic courses are offered at a particular school, they are not necessarily open to anybody interested. 3) Arabic language courses are offered more often at elementary schools rather than at secondary schools. 4) Teachers (at least, some) are not well-informed about Arabic language opportunities available at their own schools.

Table 89F: Summary of the findings: Students' knowledge of Morocco and Morocco-related topics

Research Question	Corresponding Survey Questions	Theory/Empirical Studies	Findings

How much and what do students at Spanish schools know about Morocco and Morocco-related topics?	- How much do you know about Morocco's geography? (student survey) - How much do you know about Morocco's history? (student survey) - How much do you know about Morocco's culture? (student survey) - How much do you know about Morocco's languages? (student survey) - What do you know about Morocco (geography, history, people, culture and languages)? (student survey)	*Immigrant education policies:* - Mijares Molina (2006) *Integration as a two-way process:* - Martín Muñoz *et al*. (2003) *Immigrant and involuntary minorities:* - Ogbu (1991) *Curriculum:* - Portes and Rumbaut (2001) - Inglis and Manderson (1991) - Barrington (1991) - Kolev (2004) - Shimahara (1991)	The majority of students at Spanish schools know little, very little, or nothing about Morocco's geography, history, culture and languages. Those who know nothing about these topics constitute the largest group within this majority.

Table 89G: Summary of the findings: Students' knowledge of Islam

Research Question	**Corresponding Survey Questions**	**Theory/Empirical Studies**	**Findings**

How much and what do students in Spain know about Islam?	- How much do you know about Islam? (student survey) - What do you know about Islam? (student survey)	*Immigrant education policies:* - Mijares Molina (2006) *Integration as a two-way process:* - Martín Muñoz *et al*. (2003) *Immigrant and involuntary minorities:* - Ogbu (1991) *Curriculum:* - Portes and Rumbaut (2001) - Inglis and Manderson (1991) - Barrington (1991) - Kolev (2004) - Shimahara (1991)	The majority of students at Spanish schools know little, very little, or nothing about Islam. Those who know nothing about Islam constitute the largest group within this majority.

Table 89H: Summary of the findings: Indications for certain perceptions/attitudes/stereotypes/prejudices

Research Question	Corresponding Survey Questions	Theory/Empirical Studies	Findings

What indications, if any, are there for existing stereotypes, prejudices, etc. among students and teachers towards Moroccan students or Moroccans in general? What indications, if any, are there for existing stereotypes, prejudices, etc. among students and teachers towards Muslims and/or Islam?	- What do you know about Morocco (geography, history, people, culture and languages)? [- Compared to other immigrant children, the academic performance of Moroccan students is… (much lower, lower, similar, higher, much higher)? (teacher survey)] [- Compared to native students, the academic performance of Moroccan students is… (much lower, lower, similar, higher, much higher)? (teacher survey)] [- Compared to other immigrant students, Moroccan students are integrated… (much better, better, equally, worse, much worse)? (teacher survey)] [- The ethnic group(s) having the lowest academic achievement is/are…? (teacher survey)] [-The ethnic group(s) having most discipline problems is/are…? (teacher survey)] [- Do you have (any) Moroccan friends? If yes, how many? (student survey)] - What do you know about Islam? (student survey)[410]	*Immigrant education policies:* - Mijares Molina (2006) *Integration as a two-way process:* - Martín Muñoz *et al*. (2003) - Lindo (2000) *Immigrant and involuntary minorities:* - Ogbu (1991) *School environment and curriculum:* - Portes and Rumbaut (2001) - Inglis and Manderson (1991) - Barrington (1991) - Kolev (2004) - Shimahara (1991)	1) Some students at Spanish schools have a partial understanding and/or misperceptions of Morocco, Moroccans, Muslims, and/or Islam. 2) Certain stereotypes related to Morocco, Moroccans, Muslims, and/or Islam are perpetuated among students at teachers at Spanish schools (e.g. Muslim women's clothing, gender relations, diet, etc.). 3) The level of familiarity with Morocco and Islam is significantly influenced by students' personal connection to the country and the religion rather than by the number of years of schooling. 4) Moroccan children are, in general, perceived by Spanish teachers to be the ones with most discipline-related problems of all other ethnic groups.

6.3. Discussion of Findings in the Context of Theories and Empirical Studies Related to Voluntary and Involuntary Minorities, Immigrant Education Policies and Integration

[410] In addition to these questions, there are sections left for comments after each of the first three parts of the teacher survey.

The theories and empirical studies laid out in Chapter 3 constitute the framework of the present study. They deal with immigrant integration and education, voluntary and involuntary minorities, and immigrant education policies. According to these theories, the integration of immigrant children, which is essential for their academic performance and subsequent socioeconomic advancement, should be a two-way process affecting both newcomers and receiving societies. As the empirical studies discussed above show, these theories have been incorporated in various parts of the world. Despite the variations in the experiences of different countries and their immigrants, the international experience has generally proven that multicultural and intercultural education policies have had a much more positive impact on the self-image and performance of voluntary and involuntary minorities than assimilationist and compensatory do. Moreover, multicultural and intercultural policies adopted in various countries (e.g., Australia, Bulgaria, New Zealand, etc.) have facilitated the acceptance of minorities on part of majority populations and/or receiving societies.

As the international experience described in Chapter 3 has demonstrated, multicultural and intercultural policies, which promote the exchange of values, knowledge and norms between minorities and majorities, have been effective and successful when incorporated in schools' school environment and curriculum. For instance, the story of the Cuban immigrant family's daughter featured in Portes and Rumbaut's study has shown that the girl's numerous opportunities for social and economic advancement are mainly the result of her "secure environment" at school. Not only are the majority of her peers Cuban American but she also has many teachers of Cuban origin. The chances for upward socioeconomic mobility are about the same

for the Cuban boy attending a private bilingual school where Cuban geography and history are taught (see 3.2.1.).

With regard to improving minority children's self-perception and academic performance, substantial progress has been made in different regions of the world. The languages and cultures of various voluntary and involuntary minority groups have been increasingly recognized, respected and promoted by majority populations. These languages and cultures have been the target of the multicultural and intercultural education policies of various countries and, as a consequence, they have been prominently featured in the environment and curriculum of many schools worldwide. This has been the case with Maori languages and culture, the acknowledgement and appreciation of which have been reflected in the major curricular changes in New Zealand schools, including the establishment of official bilingual schools, the increase in the number of bilingual classes, and the introduction of *marae* courses for teachers, principals, counselors and inspectors (see 3.2.3.).

This has also been the case with Roma folklore courses incorporated in Bulgarian schools' curriculum with the goal of introducing Roma culture, folklore and history to primary school students, regardless of their ethnic origin (see 3.2.4.). The comparatively recent curricular transformations in the Australian education system discussed by Inglis and Manderson were also triggered by the need to make native children aware and respectful of other languages and cultures (in particular, Turkish) existing in Australian society (see 3.2.2.). Even in Japan, where society is characterized by its rigid stratified organization, the situation has started to change

under the influence of Burakumin parties and their demands directed to education authorities and government officials (see 3.2.5.).

All these case studies provide empirical evidence in support of the argument that school environment and curriculum have a profound effect on the self-image, motivation, and academic performance of minority children, as well as on their acceptance into the host society and their relationship with the majority population. More specifically, these lessons gathered from various parts of the world show that the academic success of minority students depends to a large extent on the subject matter taught, textbooks and other materials used, teaching and administrative staff, student body composition, and type of school. Thus, minority children in general perform much better academically when one or more of the following conditions are present:

1) The schools they attend are bilingual, i.e. they can study various subjects in their own languages. In addition, courses in minority languages, which are open to non-minority students and faculty, facilitate cultural understanding and respect for differences. Such courses also have important implications for minority students' acceptance and integration within the host society.

2) Some of the teachers at the schools they attend have the same ethnic origin, especially if the teachers teach courses other than language courses in their own native languages.

3) They study about their home country's history, geography, culture, etc. In addition, exposure to minority students' culture has turned out to have a positive impact on (both native and non-native) students and teachers' perceptions and attitudes. This can also have important implications for societal perceptions and

attitudes in general (e.g. stereotypes, biases, prejudices, discrimination, racism, and/or xenophobia).

4) The minority employees who have the same ethnic origin are not only/mainly employed in custodial and dining services at the schools they attend. In fact, the lack or significant underrepresentation of minority people in teaching and administrative positions can be a major factor affecting minority students' self-perception and motivation.

These are not all the factors that can profoundly affect minority students' self-image, academic performance, and relationship with the host society but they are an integral part of school environment and curriculum and primarily shaped by the receiving country's education policies. As the experiences of countries such as Australia, Bulgaria, and New Zealand reveal, multicultural and intercultural education policies have been much more successful than assimilationist and compensatory education policies, as far as the schooling of minority children is concerned.

Multicultural and intercultural education policies, which have embraced the notion of integration as a two-way process and have incorporated it into schools' environment and curriculum, have yielded very positive results. Not only have they improved minority (both voluntary and involuntary) students' self-perception, academic performance, and relationship with the host society but they have also increased the awareness of and respect for cultural differences on part of native and other minority students and teachers. In some cases, like the one with Roma students in Bulgaria, curricular changes have even had a positive impact on the larger community and society in general, contributing to higher levels of tolerance,

understanding and appreciation among the Roma minority, Bulgarians, and other ethnic and religious groups.

Based on the data gathered at the nine schools in Barcelona and on the secondary sources provided by the Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació, the situation in Spain seems to be quite different from any of the situations described in Chapter 3, particularly in terms of immigrant education policies, curricular modifications and initiatives. At the same time, Spain has been facing challenges similar to those that other countries with significant minority populations have encountered. As the data reveal, the absolute numbers of Moroccan students compared to those of native students are still relatively small but the presence of Moroccan children at Spanish schools is considerable and perceivable.

However, despite their attempts to accommodate Moroccan immigrant children and address their needs, Spanish education and government authorities do not seem to have taken the necessary steps to ensure the success that other countries have achieved with regard to their minority populations. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Spanish authorities at all levels (local, regional, national, and international) have attempted to implement legislative acts and introduce education programs with the objective of integrating minority children, meeting their educational needs, facilitating the communication and understanding between newcomers and the host society, and complying with common European Union standards and requirements. At the same time, however, Spain seems to have followed the "trial-and-error" path that traditional countries of immigration have pursued rather than exclusively drawing on success stories like those laid out in Chapter 3.

A closer examination of the education programs introduced in Spain within the last couple of decades on one hand, and an analysis of the data gathered from the student and teacher surveys on the other, reveal a significant gap between stated objectives and facts on the ground. As discussed in Chapter 2, among the main goals of the 2006 *LOE* and the Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació *Language and Social Cohesion Plan* are the recognition and appreciation of foreign languages and cultures, the coexistence of children of various ethnic backgrounds at school, and the provision of extensive cultural and social education for all students, regardless of their origin and background.[411] However, based on the analysis of the data gathered at the nine schools and the evaluation of recent education programs, what has been intended and designed as multicultural and intercultural education policies seems to have been implemented and developed as assimilationist and compensatory education policies.

Thus, while the *Language and Social Cohesion Plan* has been introduced with the goals of meeting the needs of minority children, ensuring equality and fostering diversity, the actual steps taken towards achieving these objectives have been one-sided. For example, Catalan has been consolidated as "the mainstay of a multilingual and intercultural education policy" so that greater social cohesion can be achieved,[412] but there is no mention of minority languages and the important role they play in promoting cultural understanding, tolerance and respect. Another example is the Madrid Compensatory Education Regional Plan, the very name of which indicates the

[411] The provision of cultural and social education refers only to students in Catalonia since it is one of the goals of a regional plan, i.e. the Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació *Language and Social Cohesion Plan* (see 2.2.4.3.2.1.).

[412] See 2.2.4.3.2.1.

compensatory nature of the initiative. Although the Plan calls for "international" education that should be provided to all students and that should have as guiding principles the knowledge, appreciation and respect for other people and their cultures, it has exclusively targeted immigrant children who have not been able to actively participate in regular classes due to their limited language skills. In addition, the programs introduced with the intention of promoting the languages and cultures of immigrant children's home countries have been designed and implemented with only immigrant students in mind rather than the entire student body.[413]

Another example of largely unsuccessful initiatives is presented by the *ELCO* programs. They were designed with the intention to help create a multicultural society by teaching the languages and cultures of immigrants' home countries, particularly those of Moroccan and Portuguese minority children. However, not only were these programs offered exclusively in primary schools, but they were provided only in some primary schools. Thus, because of their limited scope, the *ELCO* programs did not manage to achieve their main goal of developing a multicultural society. Similarly to the Madrid Compensatory Education Regional Plan, these programs seem to have envisioned the creation of such a society as a unidirectional process, i.e. solely affecting minority students.

As discussed in section 4.5.1.1., some Spanish schools, like IES PP, IES AG and CEIP EG, have significant numbers of overage-for-grade students. The overwhelming majority of these children were either born outside of Spain or to at least one foreign-born parent. The countries these students came from are mainly: Bangladesh, Bolivia,

[413] See 2.2.4.3.2.2.

Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Morocco, Pakistan, and the Philippines. Moreover, most of overage-for-grade children came to Spain between 2000 and 2008. As for the few overage-for-grade students who were born in Spain to Spanish parents, the majority of them are boys from low-income families.[414]

The reason for the overrepresentation of immigrant children in the overage-for-grade group is that they were either placed in classes intended for younger children since their arrival, or that they have significantly higher retention rates, or that they need extra time to adjust before being placed in regular classes. Regardless of the reasons for the disproportionate representation of foreign children in that group, the age-grade incongruence is indicative of serious problems that can adversely affect these children's academic performance and integration. In general, overage-for-grade students drop out in larger proportions compared to students of the appropriate age. Thus, they join the ranks of "silently excluded," i.e. students who attend school but learn little because teachers do not manage or completely fail to address their educational needs.[415]

In addition, as the data suggest, teachers' perceptions can have a substantial impact on what children study. As Table 49[416] illustrates, CEIP DV has the highest percentage of students (i.e. 77.50%) who reported that they study nothing about Morocco and Morocco-related topics at school. At the same time, all eight teachers from CEIP DV

---

[414] The assumption that these children come from low-income families is based on the occupations of their parents, including a taxi driver, technician, security guard, and custodian. Some of these parents are also unemployed. The mother of the only overage-for-grade Spanish girl in the sample provides cleaning services; the father has passed away.

[415] Hossain, p. vii

[416] See p. 237

taking part in the survey unanimously stated that Moroccan children are the most undisciplined. Based on the data available, it is not possible to make a definitive conclusion regarding the relationship between teachers' perceptions and students' answers. However, it undoubtedly raises important questions that need to be considered in implementing programs and policies regarding immigrant children education and integration. For example, teacher training programs could be launched with the aim of facilitating the integration of immigrant children in Spanish schools (similar to the *marae* courses in New Zealand).[417] Another possible step is the introduction of new courses focusing on the cultures of immigrant groups with significant presence (similar to the Roma folklore course introduced at Bulgarian schools).[418]

In conclusion, the outcomes of recent education initiatives combined with the results from the surveys (i.e., the limited knowledge and exposure of students at Spanish schools to Morocco-related topics and Islam, the underrepresentation of Moroccans in teaching jobs and administrative school positions, the scarcity or lack of Arabic language courses, the indications of partial understanding and/or misperceptions of Morocco, Moroccans, Muslims and/or Islam , the perpetuation of certain stereotypes, etc.) unequivocally show that the current situation at Spanish schools is quite different from that in any of the countries with successful multicultural and intercultural education policies discussed above. Although in theory and on paper the Spanish education authorities at every level (local, regional, national, and

[417] See 3.2.3.

[418] See 3.2.4.

international) have taken serious steps towards implementing policies, introducing reforms and other initiatives, school environment and curriculum seem to remain largely influenced and shaped by compensatory and sometimes even by assimilationist policies.

The scarcity or lack of multicultural and intercultural education policies, which promote communication between students of various ethnic and cultural background and which foster tolerance, appreciation and respect for differences, can have detrimental effects on both Moroccan and non-Moroccan children at Spanish schools. As the empirical studies in Chapter 3 have revealed, the notion of integration as a two-way process incorporated in school environment and curriculum has a profound impact on all students. More specifically, schools which employ teaching and administrative staff of minority origin and which include elements of minority students' cultures, languages, religions, etc. in their curriculum, have made a significant progress in improving minority children's self-perception, motivation, and academic performance. They have also contributed to the better understanding and communication between minority and majority populations, as well as to a decline of stereotypes, prejudices, biases and instances of discrimination in the larger society.

6.4. The Implications of Findings for the Integration and Social Mobility[419] of Moroccan Immigrant Children in Spain

[419] Here, *social mobility* refers to the concept developed by Pitirim Sorokin and elaborated on in one of his most important books, *Social Mobility* (1927). According to Sorokin, (vertical) social mobility designates the relations entailed in an individual's transition from one social stratum to another. It can

As discussed in Chapter 2, Spain has taken a number of steps towards accommodating its immigrants and incorporating them in the labor market, the education system, and society in general. The Spanish government has launched a series of regularization programs, introduced a few immigration and education laws, and initiated a good deal of education programs at the local, regional and national level. Its newest education law, *LOE* (2006), as already seen, is largely shaped by the recent social changes. It aims at promoting respect for and appreciation of language and cultural diversity, fostering social cohesion and cooperation, reducing alienation and prejudice. In addition, the *LOE* demands that schools work towards developing students' ability to understand and use at least one foreign language. The law also requires that schools help students acquire basic knowledge and appreciation of others' culture and history (see 2.2.3.6.3.).

However, based on the findings of this research, there seems to be a significant discrepancy between the goals laid out in the *LOE* and the reality at Spanish schools. Despite the considerable presence of Moroccan children at elementary and secondary schools, the dramatic increase in the number of Moroccan immigrants in Spain (including in the Barcelona and Madrid metropolitan areas), and the years-long presence of Muslims in the country, students at Spanish schools generally know little about Islam, Morocco, its culture, history, people and languages. On one hand, it can

---

be ascending/upward or descending/downward, depending on the direction of the transition. See Sorokin, p. 133. For more information about the relationship between education and social mobility, see the following seminal works: James Coleman's *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (1966), Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan's *The American Occupational Structure* (1967), Christopher Jencks' *Inequality* (1972), Raymond Boudon's *Education, Opportunity, and Social Inequality* (1974), Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis' *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1977), Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron's *Reproduction: In Education, Society and Culture* (1977) and *The Inheritors* (1979).

be argued that the one of the main reasons for this is that the *LOE* is a very recent law whose implementation has just come to an end and it would take at least another few years to see its positive effects. On the other hand, considering the nature of all education programs that have been introduced in Spain within the last two decades (see 2.2.4.3.2.) and the findings of this study, it seems that the recent implementation of the *LOE* is not the main reason for the current situation at Spanish school. As discussed further below, all these programs have been more or less unsuccessful because they are based on the assumption that integration is a process that immigrants need to undergo in order to adapt to the culture of the host society. However, integration does not concern only immigrants; it is rather a process of internalizing differences which requires that both newcomers and receiving societies actively participate in it.

As becomes evident in Chapter 2, for many decades, traditional countries of immigration have been trying various strategies to accommodate their immigrants. Even older members of the European Union, which for years have been working towards converging their policies including in the field of immigration, have undertaken drastically different initiatives with regard to newcomers. For example, France, one of the founding member states of the EU, has favored assimilationist policies while Germany, another one of the six founding member states of the Union, has made the acquisition of citizenship exceptionally difficult for immigrants. Although Britain, one of the older EU member states, was a colonial power like France, the two countries have differed greatly in the way they have been handling their foreign subjects. Whereas France has aimed at assimilating them into the

dominant French culture, Britain has allowed its immigrants to create their own communities and preserve their culture and traditions (see 2.2.1.1.).

The different strategies traditional countries of immigration have been using in their attempts to both meet the needs of their immigrants and advance their own interests are largely reflected in the education policies these countries have adopted over the years. Whereas countries like Britain, France and Germany have remained faithful to their specific immigration policies, which have been also largely reflected in their respective education policies and initiatives, other traditional countries of immigration have undergone significant changes with regard to the way they have been treating their immigrants, including in the sphere of education. For example, as already discussed in Chapter 3 (see 3.3), Australia, one of the oldest countries of immigration, has gone through a number of phases in its attempts to accommodate the educational needs of its immigrant children. These transformations have been largely shaped by its political stance and dominant ideologies vis-à-vis immigration, immigrant integration and schooling.[420]

The country's initial irresponsiveness to the need of immigrant students is related to the predominant ideological and political position of the time, i.e. that immigrants should be assimilated into the Anglo-Australian culture. As a result, the popular belief was that society's institutions should not make any special arrangements for the newly arrived immigrant children. However, this attitude started changing drastically by the late 1960s when Australia received a large influx of Turkish immigrants. The mainly assimilation education policies adopted by the country until that moment began to

[420] Inglis and Manderson, pp. 98-99

rapidly give way to compensatory and, very soon, to multicultural education policies. The first major step taken by the country's government with the goal of assisting immigrant children was the funding of English as a Second Language (ESL) programs in 1970, an example of Australian compensatory education policies. However, only within a few years, the country's education system had become considerably more responsive to the presence and need of students from diverse cultural background and, consequently, multicultural education policies started being adopted.[421]

Thus, the new programs introduced in the context of these multicultural policies extended far beyond offering remedial English classes. In fact, they triggered major curriculum changes which had two main objectives: to make all Australian students aware and appreciative of the cultural and ethnic diversity in the country, and to provide immigrant children with the opportunity of studying the language, history and culture of their places of origin. The ultimate goal of the Australian government has been to improve foreign students' educational attainment while raising the self-esteem of immigrant children and fostering intercultural understanding.[422] This goal is also very similar to those set by other governments, education systems and individual schools, found in other geographic contexts, and regarding other immigrant groups. For instance, this has been the case for children of Cuban origin (see 3.3.) in the United States who have attended schools that offer them "secure" environment, i.e. an environment created by the considerable presence of teachers and peers also of Cuban origin in which, through the extensive exposure to knowledge related to Cuba, these

[421] *Ibid*., p. 99

[422] *Ibid*.

minority children's self–esteem has been raised. This has also undoubtedly contributed to their academic performance and has significantly improved their chances to move up the social ladder.

Similar results were observed in the case of Maori students in New Zealand. Although the local government authorities' experience with introducing special curricular changes in an effort to serve the Maori minority children's educational needs has been characterized by many initial difficulties, it has been generally evaluated as an extremely positive one. Teachers at bilingual schools have reported that, as a consequence of the curricular transformations, their Maori students not only have higher self-esteem but they have also substantially improved their spoken and written Maori and English. In addition, according to teachers' observations, those schools that have undergone curricular changes have a much better spirit now.[423]

As a whole, the empirical studies discussed in Chapter 3 have demonstrated that school environment and curriculum can profoundly affect students' and, consequently, society's perceptions and attitudes towards minorities. Thus, it is crucial that multicultural and intercultural education policies, which are based on the notion of integration as a two-directional phenomenon and which aim at creating a multicultural/multiethnic/multireligious society, are implemented at every level of the Spain's education system (local, regional, and national). It is also imperative that these policies are reflected in the school environment and curriculum of every Spanish school, regardless of its type (primary or secondary, public or private) and its student body composition. The need for education policy reforms and curricular changes

[423] *Ibid*., p. 321

becomes even more urgent when taking into consideration their implications for minority students' future social mobility.

In fact, according to Portes and Rumbaut's argument mentioned in Chapter 3 (see 3.2.1.1), the way in which immigrant communities are received in their host country significantly influences their experiences and chances for socioeconomic advancement. According to empirical studies, such as those of Maoris in New Zealand and Roma people in Bulgaria, this is also true for involuntary minorities. However, Moroccan children in Spain do not fall into either of the two categories of minorities described by Ogbu. Although the majority of their parents belong to the "immigrant/voluntary" category, children of Moroccan immigrants did not necessarily move voluntarily to their host society. However, Moroccans of different generations in Spain, like many voluntary and involuntary minorities throughout the world (e.g., Maoris in New Zealand, Turks in Germany, Mexicans in the United States, Roma in Bulgaria, etc.), have been subject to bias, discrimination, racism and xenophobia. Moroccans have even replaced Gypsies as the most negatively perceived minority group within Spain, which has had serious implications for their chances for socioeconomic advancement.

Ogbu argues that immigrants in general interpret the political, economic and social impediments as temporary and believe that these can be gradually overcome through hard work and/or education. According to him, they usually attribute their exclusion from well-paid and high-skilled jobs jobs to the fact that they are foreigners who were educated somewhere else and who do not speak well the language(s) of the receiving

country.[424] However, Moroccan immigrants in Spain present a very interesting case because they share many of the characteristics of both immigrant and voluntary minorities. Undoubtedly, these immigrants came to Spain in search of a higher standard of living and better opportunities for themselves and their children. However, like many other immigrant and involuntary minorities, they have faced prejudice, discrimination, even racism and xenophobia. Although the earliest Moroccan immigrants to Spain might have exhibited most of the typical characteristics of voluntary minorities as described by Ogbu, it seems that, in the course of time, particularly with the emergence of a second- and third generation, these people begin to share more and more characteristics with involuntary minorities.

For example, while in the beginning Moroccan immigrants might have used their home country as a point of reference (i.e. when comparing their current situation in the host society to their previous situation in the country of origin), they have begun to increasingly compare their own status and socioeconomic chances with those of members of the local majority. Consequently, as Ogbu points out, they come to the conclusion that "they are worse off than they ought to be for no other reason than that they belong to a subordinate and disparaged minority group." In addition, they begin to regard the discrimination against them as "permanent and institutionalized" and give up believing that they can be treated like members of the majority if they acquire the necessary knowledge and skills (see 3.3.1.). This also applies to children of Moroccan origin, especially to those who were born in Spain to immigrant parents or those who arrived in the country at a very early age. If these children attend schools

[424] See 3.1.3.

where none of their teachers is of Moroccan origin, where the only Moroccans employed are those working in dining and custodial services, and/or where they encounter cetain attitudes and treatment on part of their classmates and teachers, it cannot be expected that these factors would not have detrimental effects on these children, their self-image, motivation, academic performance and subsequent life chances.

Therefore, Spanish education authorities have to take the necessary steps to meet the educational needs of all their students. In fact, schools in Spain, like those in many other countries across the world, have encountered numerous challenges on their way to achieving multiple goals and transmitting a number of values to their students, as necessitated by various political, economic and social processes. With immigrants coming from all parts of the world and bringing with themselves new values, perceptions, beliefs, customs, and practices, host societies and their institutions have to make efforts to adapt to the needs of the newcomers. As Martin Carnoy points out, for an institution to play an important role in a society, it has to be legitimate, i.e. people who use it have to believe that it meets their needs and serves their interests. [425]

In general, the higher the educational level attained by immigrants is, the better their chances for upward social mobility are. However, as far as the integration and socioeconomic advancement of immigrants and involuntary minorities are concerned, a number of important contextual factors come into play and the relation between schooling and social mobility is much weaker and much less straightforward than it is with regard to native/majority populations. Among these factors are the receiving

[425] Carnoy (1974), p. 1

governments' immigration policies, which are also largely reflected in the respective countries' immigrant education policies. Another major factor is the host society's perceptions of and attitudes towards newcomers. As Portes and Rumbaut point out, the closer a certain minority is in terms of physical characteristics, language, culture, class background and religion to the receiving society's mainstream, the more favorable the reception and the more rapid their subsequent integration. This would explain why educated immigrants from Northwestern Europe have very little difficulty in joining U.S. middle and upper classes compared to other immigrant groups, such as Mexicans, Haitians, Jamaicans, etc.[426]

Although Irish, Italian, Polish and other early immigrants from the northwestern parts of Europe to the United States were initially classified as separate races and subjected to various types of discrimination, the phenotypic resemblance between them on one hand, and members of American society's mainstream on the other, eventually turned out to be crucial for their integration and social mobility. Once these European immigrants learned to speak unaccented English, adopted American modes of behavior and climbed a few steps up the social ladder, they became virtually indistinguishable from the local population. Quite unlike them, minorities of very different backgrounds (e.g., Mexicans in the United States, Turks in the Netherlands, Roma in Bulgaria, or Moroccans in Spain) have not been able to reduce their ethnicity to a matter of personal choice. Their physical differences, Portes and Rumbaut claim, as well as the consistent discrimination based on these differences they have been

[426] Portes and Rumbaut, pp. 46-47

experiencing, have presented a major obstacle in the path of their integration and socioeconomic advancement.[427]

As David C. Paris points out, the major expectations placed on schools include: reducing inequality among individuals and groups; improving the economy by increasing the supply of skills and intelligence; influencing society's cultural life; developing individuals' creativity; reducing mistrust and alienation and building a sense of community; decreasing misunderstanding and prejudice and promoting communication among diverse groups; and, improving the quality of political and social life.[428] Among these objectives, the three most frequently cited and elaborated on in textbooks and social science studies are: transmission of knowledge, socialization, and social selection.[429] [430]

The first two objectives are crucial for the process of shaping students' perceptions, ways of thinking, values and principles. The third objective is essential for students' future socioeconomic advancement, life styles and opportunities. It seems that these main goals of schooling need to be pursued even harder by schools, local, regional and national education authorities dealing with significant numbers of minority children. In a multicultural/multiethnic/multireligious context, schools – as major agents of knowledge and skills transmission, socialization, and social mobility – should place a strong emphasis on the familiarity with and appreciation of other

---

[427] *Ibid*., pp. 55-56

[428] Paris, p. 48

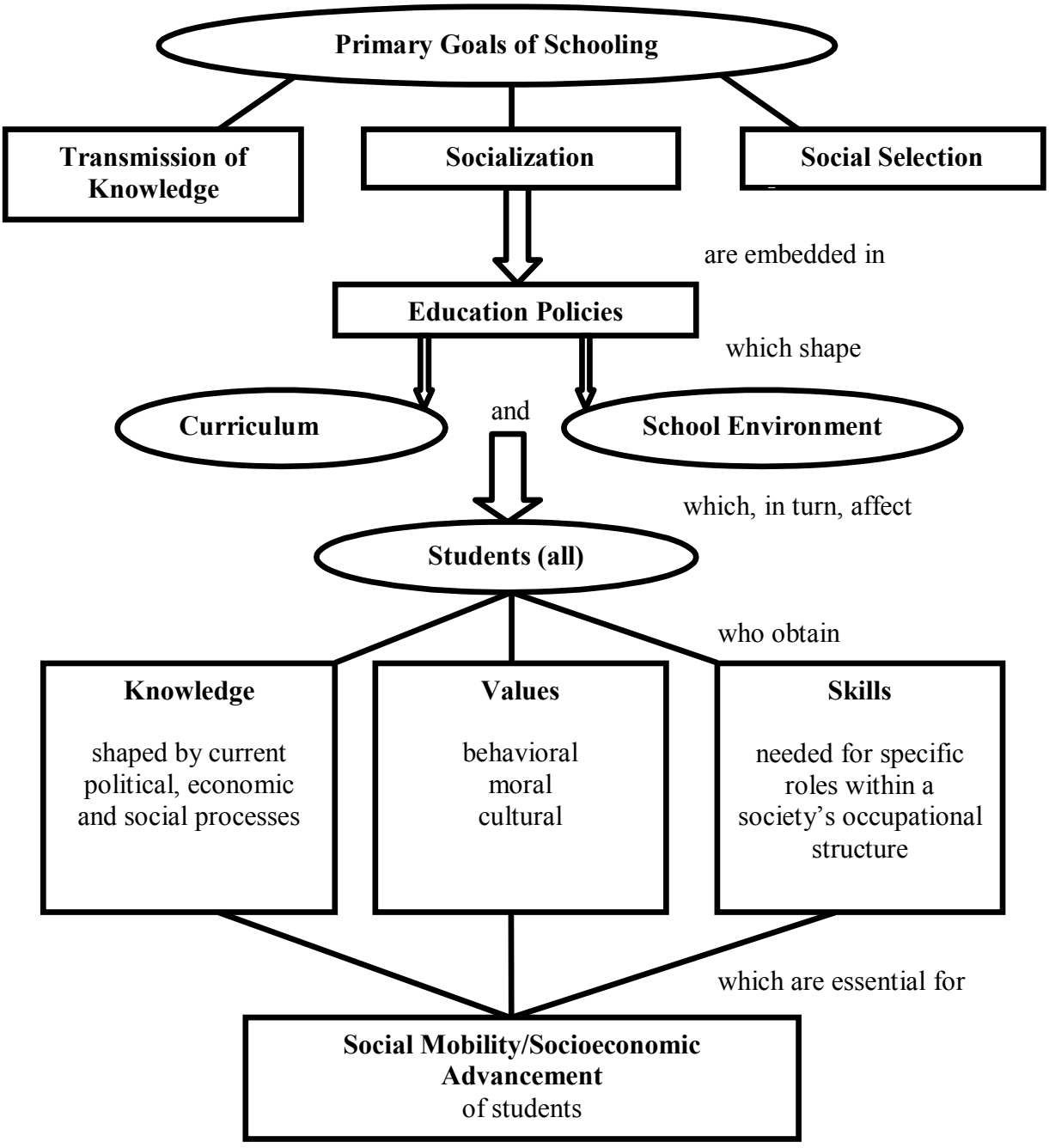
[429] Brint., p. 97

[430] For more about the three objectives of schooling (i.e. transmission of knowledge, socialization and social selection), see Brint (, pp. 97-162), Durkheim, *L'Évolution Pédagogique en France*. 1938. Vol. 2, pp. 208-9 cited in Cladis (, p. 393), Carnoy and Levin (), Balán *et al*. (, p. 85), Parsons (, p. 130)

cultures, languages, religions and values. Educational institution should promote tolerance and respect for diversity, as well as facilitate communication among various ethnic and religious groups.

Schooling's main objectives are generally embedded in education policies at local, regional, national, and even international level. These education policies, influenced by current political, economic and social processes, shape schools' curricula and environment. Curriculum and school environment, in turn, profoundly affect all students by imparting to them certain knowledge and skills, as well as transmitting certain values. The knowledge, values and skills acquired at school are crucial for students' future socioeconomic advancement/upward social mobility (see Figure 25 below).

Figure 25. Curriculum and school environment within the larger context of theories dealing with schooling and social mobility.



However, within the context of multiethnic societies, it becomes necessary to modify the main goals of schooling in order to meet the needs of the specific minority groups. This has been done in various regions around the world, as the different cases in Chapter 3 demonstrate. Schools with significant numbers of minority (both voluntary and involuntary) children have incorporated the notion of integration as a two-way process in their primary objectives (i.e. transmission of knowledge, socialization, and social selection) and, consequently, in their curricula and school environment. With regard to the first main goal of formal education, which is transmission of knowledge, schools in countries like Australia, Bulgaria and New Zealand have modified their curricula in a way that the knowledge transmitted is not completely determined by the dominant culture but that it rather includes elements from the respective minority culture(s).

As far as the second primary goals of schooling is concerned, i.e. socialization, the case studies presented in Chapter 3 show that schools within multiethnic contexts have promoted values such as appreciation of and respect for differences (ideas, customs, manners, moralities, institutions, etc.). Regarding the third main goal of formal education, i.e. social selection, schools in multiethnic societies have been preparing children from various minority backgrounds for their future societal roles. These schools have been equipping their minority students with skills that would grant them access to occupations different from their traditional ones, usually low-skilled and low-paid, and allow them to move up the socioeconomic ladder.

In addition, as illustrated by the empirical studies examined in Chapter 3, schools can have a considerable impact on minority (both voluntary and involuntary) students'

self-perception, motivation and academic performance, as well as on majority students' perceptions and attitudes. All these, on their part, can profoundly determine minority children' chances for higher socioeconomic status and upward social mobility. When schools fail to reach their main goals and meet the educational and social needs of their students (in particular, minority students), it is much easier to view them as instruments of economic and social reproduction. When schools manage to achieve their objectives, it is possible to see them as important institutions capable of offsetting inequalities by selecting people to society's highest positions based on individuals' merits rather than on individuals' background and/or place of origin.

6.5. Conclusion

The study has achieved its main goal of finding out to what extent the concept of integration as a two-way process, particularly with regard to children of Moroccan origin, has been incorporated in the school environment and curriculum of schools in Spain. It has also explored the role that curriculum and school environment play in shaping voluntary and involuntary minority children's self-perception and academic performance, as well as the implications these (i.e., curriculum and school environment) have for minority students' future socioeconomic advancement. All guiding questions laid out in Chapter 1 (see 1.2.3.) have been answered and the results have been listed above (see 6.2.).

In summary, it can be said that, being a comparatively new country of immigration, Spain seems to follow the path of traditional countries of immigration (such as Australia and the United States). The way in which integration appears to

have been understood over the last few decades in Spain is very similar, if not identical, to the way it was seen earlier in some traditional receiving countries, i.e. as a one-way process concerning mainly immigrants, who are expected to adapt to the various aspects of life in the host society. This view has been incorporated in the sporadic and generally ineffective initiatives undertaken by Spanish authorities in the field of education (see 1.1.). The majority of these initiatives, which target primarily the immigrant children population, have been mainly offered in the form of extracurricular activities rather than as part of school curriculum.

In addition, as long as integration is perceived as a process affecting exclusively the newcomers, significant changes in school environment and curriculum are unlikely to occur, despite the considerable influx of immigrants in recent years. Unless the country's education authorities at every level – local, regional, and national – recognize that integration involves both immigrant and local communities as well as the process of "internalizing" their differences, Morocco-and Islam-related topics will continue to be inadequately incorporated in the school curriculum; Moroccan teachers and staff at Spanish schools will remain underrepresented; and Arabic language courses will continue to be offered only as extracurricular activities, and generally only to native speakers.

In conclusion, regardless of how educated, motivated and hard-working certain immigrants are, their prospect of climbing the socioeconomic ladder will remain quite dim if the immigration (and education) policies of host societies do not favor them, if the majority/native population is prejudiced against them and consistently subjects them to discrimination, and/or if their own community does not have the necessary

resources and networks to support them.[431] This has to be avoided because, after all, immigration has always been an important factor of growth and innovation. [432] In fact, immigrants have been the solution for many countries of immigration, particularly those with aging populations and lacking labor force. It is namely these people who can guarantee not only the revival and continuity but even the very survival of many rural and urban communities in Europe, as well as in other parts of the world. [433]

6.6. Contributions

The study, despite its limitations and flaws, seems to be without precedent, i.e. there have been none or hardly any similar research projects carried out at schools in Barcelona (possibly, in Spain as well). Empirical studies focusing on the schooling of Moroccan immigrant students in Spain are not only quite scarce but they hardly, if at all, present the perspective of those directly involved in the teaching and learning processes, i.e. students and teachers. Thus, the importance of this study consists in its contribution to the still limited body of empirical studies on schooling, integration and life chances of Moroccans in Spain, as well as to the larger context of integration, education and social mobility of Arabs and Muslims in Southern Europe/European Union/Europe.

This research project is to add also to existing scholarship on the relationship between school environment and curriculum, and minority students' self-image,

---

[431] *Ibid*., p. 49

[432] Checa Olmos and Arjona Garrido, p. 1

[433] I have incorporated here some of the ideas found in Delgado *et al*., p. 13

motivation, academic performance and, subsequently, chances for upward social mobility. In addition, the study's findings related to curriculum and school environment might prove beneficial for teachers, principals, administrators, and policy-makers not only in Barcelona and Spain, but also in other countries of immigration (both new and traditional). These findings might help them in their attempts to improve their minority children's self-esteem and boost their aspirations and academic performance, which can have serious implications for these children's life chances. Last but not least, the study adds to existing scholarship in English because a large number of the sources used are available only in Spanish and/or Catalan.

The findings of the study suggest that if the Spanish government aims at integrating Moroccan children in the education system and improving their life chances, it might need to consider the option of employing Moroccan teaching and administrative staff, offering Morocco-specific subjects supplemented with relevant textbooks and course materials, introducing effective bilingual programs, and distributing Moroccan students across different types of schools. Such steps on part of the host society are also expected to improve the majority population's perception and attitudes towards Moroccans and Muslims in general because the lack of knowledge or inadequate familiarity with minorities and their cultures are likely to perpetuate existing stereotypes and prejudices, as well as to even lead to new acts of discrimination, racism and xenophobia. Thus, in order to prevent another El Ejido incident, Spain needs to work towards the successful integration of its immigrants,

which involves the active participation not only on part of the newcomers but also on part of the local population.

6.7. Limitations

Despite its contribution to theory and empirical scholarship, this study is not deprived of limitations and weaknesses. First, because of time limitations, the research was not only carried out in just one city, Barcelona, but also in only one district of that city, i.e. Ciutat Vella. Since the schools of that district have the highest concentration of Moroccan children within the city, questions regarding the generalizability of the findings can be expected, i.e. whether the results of this research can be applied to other districts in Barcelona, other cities in Spain, and/or the country as a whole. Moreover, the quantitative data were not subjected to tests of significance and, as a result, conclusions should be taken with caution.

Second, again due to time limitations, it was not possible to conduct a pilot study and, therefore, revise and improve the design of the surveys. Third, only one private school/*centro concertado* participated in the survey and, consequently, the results might not be applicable to all private schools in the district, the city, and/or the country. Fourth, this study was initially designed with the intention to be complemented by short structured and/or semi-structured interviews, review of textbooks and other school materials, and class observations. However, the four-month period proved an insufficient amount of time to employ all of these methods. Fifth, the language factor (i.e. Spanish is not the native language for many of the students who participated in the survey) might have negatively influenced the amount and quality of

the data gathered. This has been suggested by the numerous spelling and grammar mistakes, by the misunderstanding of some of the questions reflected in the responses of some of the students, and by students' occasional mixing of languages. Last but not least, the findings are largely based on students' perceptions and self-evaluation which might have had a negative effect on the reliability of their responses.

6.8. Suggestions for Future Research

As mentioned above, this study was quite limited in time and space. Thus, there is a need for studies encompassing more elementary and secondary schools (both private and public) in more districts within Barcelona, as well as in various rural and urban centers throughout the country, in order to come up with findings that are generalizable and applicable to the whole country. It is also recommended that future studies make use of other research methods (interviews, class observation, review of school materials, etc.) not only to strengthen the reliability and validity of their findings but also to increase their chances of obtaining new information and/or gaining a deeper insight into existing issues. It might be also helpful if future research is carried out in more languages, such as Catalan, Arabic, Berber, Urdu, Punjabi, etc., so that participants in the surveys would be able to respond in their respective first languages.

Based on the data gathered for this study, it seems that there is a significant number of Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrant children at Spanish schools. Since a large number of them are also Muslim, it might be worth it to conduct another similar study that focuses on other immigrant groups in Spain, particularly Muslim ones, to

see whether patterns similar to the ones examined in this study would emerge. In addition, studies like this one can also be conducted in other relatively new countries of immigration like Greece, Italy, and Portugal, and/or even in traditional countries of immigration to compare how successful different countries have been and what strategies they have employed in their attempts to integrate their Arab/Muslim immigrants and to ensure their equal chances of schooling and social mobility.

APPENDIX

ENCUESTA (Alumnos/Estudiantes)

Estoy haciendo un estudio para obtener información sobre lo que estudias en la escuela y en qué medida sobre Marruecos, su geografía, historia, cultura, religión e idiomas. Tus respuestas son importantes porque van a ayudar a la gente que decide lo que se estudia en las escuelas.
Esto no es un examen y no debes escribir tu nombre.
Te pido que participes en esta encuesta y que contestes a todas las preguntas pero puedes decidir que no participar, si no lo quieres. Si decides participar, puedes concluir la encuesta en cualquier momento y contestar a tantas preguntas como quieras.

I. Marroquíes en la escuela

Hay niños y niñas marroquíes en tu escuela? _____ Si hay, cuántos son? _____

Tienes amigos marroquíes? _____ Si tienes, cuántos tienes? _____

Tienes maestros/profesores marroquíes? _____ Si tienes, cuántos son?_____

Qué es lo que enseñan?
_____

Conoces a marroquíes que trabajan en tu escuela? _____

Si conoces, en qué trabajan? _____

II. Conocimientos de Marruecos

Cuánto sabes sobre la geografía de Marruecos? (**marca tu respuesta con un X o con un V**)
□ mucho □ bastante □ ni mucho ni poco □ poco □ demasiado poco □ nada

Cuánto sabes sobre la historia de Marruecos?
□ mucho □ bastante □ ni mucho ni poco □ poco □ demasiado poco □ nada

Cuánto sabes sobre la cultura de Marruecos?
□ mucho □ bastante □ ni mucho ni poco □ poco □ demasiado poco □ nada

Cuánto sabes sobre los idiomas de Marruecos?
□ mucho □ bastante □ ni mucho ni poco □ poco □ demasiado poco □ nada

Dónde y cómo aprendiste lo que tú sabes sobre Marruecos? (**marca todas las respuestas correctas**)
____en la escuela
____por la televisión
____por las películas
____por tus padres
____por tus parientes
____por tus amigos
____en otro lugar

Si marcas "en otro lugar", puedes decir dónde o cómo?
_____

Cuánto estudias en la escuela sobre Marruecos, su geografía, historia, gente, cultura, idiomas y religión?
□ mucho □ bastante □ ni mucho ni poco □ poco □ demasiado poco □ nada

En qué clase(s) has estudiado algo sobre Marruecos?
_____
_____

Qué sabes sobre Marruecos (geografía, historia, gente, cultura e idiomas)?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Cuánto sabes sobre el Islam?
□ mucho □ bastante □ ni mucho ni poco □ poco □ demasiado poco □ nada

Dónde y cómo aprendiste lo que tú sabes sobre el Islam? (**marca todas las respuestas correctas**)
____en la escuela
____por la televisión
____por las pelíclas
____por tus padres
____por tus parientes
____por tus amigos
____en otro lugar

Si marcas "en otro lugar," puedes decir dónde o cómo?
_____

En qué clase(s) has estudiado algo sobre el Islam?

_____
_____

Qué sabes sobre el Islam?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

IV. Datos personales

Tu edad: _____ Tu sexo (masculino/femenino): _____ Grado: _____

Dónde naciste? _____

Tu primer idioma:
_____

Qué idioma se habla en tu casa? _____

Dónde nació tu madre? _____ El idioma de tu madre: _____

Dónde nació tu padre? _____ El idioma de tu padre: _____

En qué trabaja tu madre? _____ En qué trabgaja tu padre? _____

Si naciste en otro lugar, cuándo llegaste a España? _____

MUCHAS GRACIAS!

SURVEY (Students)

I am doing a study to find out what and how much you study in school about Morocco, its geography, history, culture, religion, and languages. Your responses are important because they will help people who decide what students study. This is not a test/exam and you do not have to write your name. I ask you to participate and answer all the questions but you can decide not to participate, if you do not want to. If you decide to participate, you can stop at any time and answer as many questions as you want.

I. Moroccans at school

Are there (any) Moroccan boys and girls at your school? ___If yes, how many? _____

Do you have (any) Moroccan friends? _____ If yes, how many? _____

Do you have (any) Moroccan teachers? _____ If yes, how many? _____

What do they teach?

_____

Do you know (any) Moroccan people working at your school? _____

If yes, what do they do? _____

II. Morocco-related knowledge

How much do you know about Morocco's geography? (**mark your answer with a X or a V**)
□ much □ quite a bit □ neither much nor little □ little □ very little □ nothing

How much do you know about Morocco's history?
□ much □ quite a bit □ neither much nor little □ little □ very little □ nothing

How much do you know about Morocco's culture?
□ much □ quite a bit □ neither much nor little □ little □ very little □ nothing

How much do you know about Morocco's languages?
□ much □ quite a bit □ neither much nor little □ little □ very little □ nothing

Where and how did you learn what you know about Morocco? (**mark all the correct answers**)
____at school
____from the TV
____from movies
____from parents
____from relatives
____from friends
____somewhere else

If you mark "somewhere else," can you say where or how?
_____

How much do you study at school about Morocco, its geography, history, people, culture, languages, and religion?
□ much □ quite a bit □ neither much nor little □ little □ very little □ nothing

In what class(es) have you studied anything about Morocco?
_____
_____

What do you know about Morocco (geography, history, people, culture and languages)?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

How much do you know about Islam?
□ much □ quite a bit □ neither much nor little □ little □ very little □ nothing

Where and how did you learn what you know about Islam? (**mark all the correct answers**)
____at school
____from the TV
____from movies
____from parents
____from relatives
____from friends
____somewhere else

If you mark "somewhere else," can you say where or how? _____

In what class(es) have you studied anything related to Islam?

_____

_____

What do you know about Islam?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

IV. Personal information

Your age: _____ Your gender (male/female): _____ Grade: _____

Where were you born? _____

Your first language: _____

What language do you speak at home? _____

Where was your mother born? _____ Your mother's language: _____

Where was your father born? _____Your father's language: _____

What does your mother do? _____What does your father do? _____

If you were born outside of Spain, when did you come to Spain? _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

ENCUESTA (Maestros/Profesores)

El objectivo de esta encuesta es enterarse en qué medida conocimientos relacionados con Marruecos, su geografía, historia, cultura, religión, idiomas, etc., son incorporados a los currículos de las escuelas primarias y secundarias en Barcelona. Los resultados de esta encuesta van a contribuir a los trabajos científicos existentes que tratan de la educación de inmigrantes. Además, los resultados van a tener consecuencias importantes para el proceso de desarrollar currículos y, en particular, currículos para clases multiétnicas/multiculturales/multilingües. Su participación en esta encuesta es voluntaria. Si Ud. decide participar, Ud. debería saber que la encuesta es anónima y que los datos personales serán utilizados sólo para localizar tendencias en las respuestas con respecto a la edad, sexo, etc. de los participantes. Le pido a Ud. que participe en esta encuesta y que conteste a todas las preguntas pero Ud. puede parar en cualquier momento y contestar a tantas preguntas como Ud. quiera. En las secciones "Comentarios," por favor escriba sus comentarios relacionados con las preguntas.

I. Alumnos/Estudiantes

Aproximadamente qué porcentaje de sus estudiantes son marroquíes? _____

En comparación con los años pasados, el número de sus estudiantes marroquíes es:
□ mucho más pequeño □ más pequeño □ similar □ más grande □ mucho más grande

En comparación con otros estudiantes inmigrantes, el rendimiento de los estudiantes marroquíes es:
□ mucho más bajo □ más bajo □ similar □ más alto □ mucho más alto

En comparación con estudiantes nativos, el rendimiento de los estudiantes marroquíes es:
□ mucho más bajo □ más bajo □ similar □ más alto □ mucho más alto

En comparación con otros estudiantes inmigrantes, los estudiantes marroquíes están integrados:
□ mucho mejor □ mejor □ igualmente □ peor □ mucho peor

El grupo o los grupos étnicos con el rendimiento más bajo:
_____

El grupo o los grupos étnicos que tiene(n) más problemas con la disciplina:
_____

Comentarios:
_____
_____

_____
_____
_____

II. Empleados

En su escuela, aproximadamente cuántos maestros/profesores son marroquíes? _____

Qué es lo que enseñan? _____

En su escuela, aproximadamente cuántos marroquíes trabajan? _____

En qué trabajan?
_____

Comentarios:
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

III. Currículo

En su escuela se enseña suficientemente sobre la geografía, historia, cultura, religión, idiomas, etc., de los paises que no son parte del "mundo oeste."
□ estoy totalmente de acuerdo □ estoy de acuerdo □ ni estoy de acuerdo ni estoy de desacuerdo □ estoy de desacuerdo □ estoy totalmente de desacuerdo

En su escuela se enseña suficientemente sobre Marruecos, su gente, cultura, geografía, historia, idiomas, etc.
□ estoy totalmente de acuerdo □ estoy de acuerdo □ ni estoy de acuerdo ni estoy de desacuerdo □ estoy de desacuerdo □ estoy totalmente de desacuerdo

En su escuela se enseña suficientemente sobre el Islam.
□ estoy totalmente de acuerdo □ estoy de acuerdo □ ni estoy de acuerdo ni estoy de desacuerdo □ estoy de desacuerdo □ estoy totalmente de desacuerdo

En su escuela se ofrecen cursos de árabe?
□ No □ Sí, pero sólo para hablantes nativos □ Sí, para cualquier persona interesada

Comentarios:
_____
_____

_____
_____
_____

IV. Datos personales

Su edad: _____ Su sexo: _____ Su lugar de nacimiento: _____

Su(s) idioma(s) nativo(s): _____ Origen étnico: _____

Clase(s) que Ud. enseña: _____

Grado(s) en que Ud. enseña: _____

Cuántos años hace que Ud. es maestro/profesor? _____

Cuántos años hace que Ud. es maestro/profesor en esta escuela? _____

MUCHAS GRACIAS!

Si Ud. tiene algunas preguntas o concerns, Ud. puede contactarme:
vgn4@cornell.edu or vess_ina@hotmail.com (Me llamo Vesselina Naidenova.)

SURVEY (Teachers)

The purpose of this survey is to find out to what extent knowledge related to Morocco, i.e. its geography, history, culture, religion, languages, etc., is integrated in the curricula of primary and secondary schools in Barcelona. The results of this survey will contribute to existing scholarship on immigrant education as well as have important implications for the curriculum development process and, in particular, for developing curricula for multiethnic/multicultural/multilingual classrooms. Your participation in this survey is voluntary. If you decide to participate, you should know that the survey is anonymous and that the personal data will be used only to trace patterns in the responses with regard to participants' age, gender, etc. I ask you to participate in this survey and answer all the questions but you can stop at any point and answer as many questions as you want. In the sections "Comments", please write your comments related to the questions.

I. Students

Approximately what percentage of your students are Moroccans? _____

Compared to previous years, the number of your Moroccan students is:
□ much smaller □ smaller □ similar □ bigger □ much bigger

Compared to other immigrant students, the academic performance of Moroccan students is:
□ much lower □ lower □ similar □ higher □ much higher

Compared to native students, the academic performance of Moroccan students is:
□ much lower □ lower □ similar □ higher □ much higher

Compared to other immigrant students, Moroccan students are integrated:
□ much better □ better □ similarly □ worse □ much worse

The lowest academically performing ethnic group(s):
_____

The ethnic group(s) with most discipline-related problems:
_____

Comments:
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

II. Staff

At your school, approximately how many teachers are Moroccans? _____

What subjects do they teach?

_____
_____

At your school, approximately how many Moroccans work? _____

What do they do? _____

Comments:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

III. Curriculum

Students at your school are taught enough about non-Western countries' geography, history, culture, religion, languages, etc.
□ strongly agree □ agree □ neither agree nor disagree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

Students at your school are taught enough about Morocco, its people, culture, geography, history, languages, etc.
□ strongly agree □ agree □ neither agree nor disagree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

Students at your school are taught enough about Islam.
□ strongly agree □ agree □ neither agree nor disagree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

Is Arabic offered as a course at your school?
□ No □ Yes, but only for native speakers □ Yes, for anybody

Comments:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

IV. Personal Information

Your age: _____ Your gender: _____ Place of birth: _____

Native language(s): _____ Ethnicity: _____

Subject(s) you teach: _____

Grade(s) you teach: _____

How many years have you been a teacher? _____

How many years have you been a teacher at this school? _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

If you have any questions or concerns, you can contact me anytime at:
vgn4@cornell.edu or vess_ina@hotmail.com (My name is Vesselina Naidenova.)

REFERENCES

AbuSabha, Rayane and Mary Lou Woelfel. "Qualitative vs Quantitative Methods: Two Opposites That Make a Perfect Match." *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*. Vol. 103, No. 5. May 2003. pp. 566-569

Abumalham, Montserrat. "The Muslim Presence in Spain: Policy and Society" (pp. 80-92). In W.A.R. Shadid and P.S. van Koningsveld (eds.) *Muslims in the Margin: Political Responses to the Presence of Islam in Western Europe*. Kampen, the Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1996

Actis, Walter, Carlos Pereda, and Miguel Ángel de Prada (Colectivo Ioé). *Presencia del Sur: Marroquíes en Cataluña*. Generalitat de Catalunya. Institut Català d'Estudis Mediterranis 1994; Editorial Fundamentos, Madrid, 1995

Administrative Map of Morocco. <http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/morocco-administrative-map.htm>

"Advantages and Disadvantages of the Survey Method." Writing @ CSU. Colorado State University. <http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/research/survey/com2d1.cfm>

Aierbe, Peio, Ismael Díaz, Raúl Martínez, Mikel Mazkiaran, and Clara Pérez. *Análisis de prensa 2002: Inmigración, racismo y xenofobia*. Donostia-San Sebastián: Tercera Prensa-Hirugarren Prentsa S. L., 2003

Alvite, J. P. (coordinador), B. Sutcliffe, Mª C. Blanco, K. Sabar, E. Balibar, P.-A. Taguieff, M. Wieviorka. *Racismo, antirracismo e inmigración*. Donostia: Tercera Prensa-Hirugarren Prentsa S. L., 1995

Anuario Estadístico de Inmigración: Año 2005. Secretaría de Estado de Inmigración y Emigración. Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración. Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales. Madrid: Imprenta Fareso, S. A.

Apap, Joanna. "Shaping Europe's Migration Policy. New Regimes for the Employment of Third Country Nationals: A Comparison of Strategies in Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands and the UK." *European Journal of Migration and Law*. Vol. 4. 2002. pp. 309-328

Aparicio, Rosa and Andrés Tornos. *Las redes sociales de los inmigrantes extranjeros en España: Un studio sobre el terreno*. Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales. Documentos del Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración. Subdirección General de Información Administrativa y Publicaciones. Madrid, 2005

Aparicio, Rosa and Andrés Tornos. "Towards an Analysis of Spanish Integration Policy" (pp. 213-252). In Heckmann, Friedrich and Dominique Schnapper (eds.). *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies: National Differences and Trends of Convergence*. Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 2003

Aparicio Gómez, Rosa and Andrés Tornos Cubillo. *Hijos de inmigrantes que se hacen adultos: marroquíes, dominicanos, peruanos*. Documentos del Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 2006

Aparicio Gómez, Rosa, Carolien Van Ham, Mercedes Fernández García and Andrés Tornos Cubillo. *Marroquíes en España*. Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas Servicio de Publicaciones, 2005

Arango, Joaquín and Maia Jachimowicz. "Regularizing Immigrants in Spain: A New Approach." Feature Story. Migration Information Source. September 2005. <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=331>

Balán, Jorge, Harley L. Browning and Elizabeth Jelin. *Men in a Developing Society: Geographic and Social Mobility in Monterrey, Mexico*. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1973

Ballard, Roger. "Islam and the Construction of Europe" (pp. 15-51). In W.A.R. Shadid and P.S. van Koningsveld (eds.) *Muslims in the Margin: Political Responses to the Presence of Islam in Western Europe*. Kampen, the Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1996

Barcelona es una bona escola. Guia de centres i serveis educatius de Barcelona. Curs 2009-2010. Consorci d'Educació de Barcelona. Generalitat de Catalunya. Ajuntament de Barcelona

Barrington, John M. "The New Zealand Experience: Maoris" (pp. 309-326). In Gibson, Margaret A. and John U. Ogbu. *Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities*. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991

Bauböck, Rainer. *The Integration of Immigrants*. Reprint No. 15. (Council of Europe, October 1994). Institute for Advanced Studies. Vienna, 1995

Baum, Christopher F. *Introduction to Stata*. Boston College. August 2009

Bernal, Antonio-Miguel. "Prólogo". (17-22). In Martín Corrales, Eloy. *La imagen del magrebí en España: Una perspectiva histórica siglos XVI-XX*. Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002

Blau, Peter M. and Otis Dudley Duncan. *The American Occupational Structure*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.,1967

Boudon, Raymond. *Education, Opportunity, and Social Inequality: Changing Prospects in Western Society*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974

Bourdieu, Pierre and Jean-Claude Passeron. *The Inheritors: French Students and Their Relation to Culture*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1979

Bourdieu, Pierre and Jean-Claude Passeron. *Reproduction: In Education, Society and Culture*. London and Beverly Hills: Sage Publications Ltd., 1977

Bowles, Samuel. "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labor." (pp. 137-153) In Karabel, Jerome and A.H. Halsey (eds.). *Power and Ideology in Education*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1977

Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis. *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977

Bowles and Gintis. "*Schooling in Capitalist America* Revisited." November, 2001. < http://www.umass.edu/preferen/gintis/soced.pdf>

Boyatzis, Richard E. *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1998

Boyd-Barrett, Oliver and Pamela O'Malley (eds.). *Education Reform in Democratic Spain*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995

Brint, Steven. *Schools and Societies*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006

Calavita, Kitty. *Immigrants at the Margins: Law, Race, and Exclusion in Southern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005

Carnoy, Martin. *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. New York: David McKay Company, 1974

Carnoy, Martin and Henry M. Levin. *The Limits of Educational Reform*. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1976

Castles, Stephen. "The Factors That Make and Unmake Migration Policies." *The International Migration Review*. Vol. 38, No. 3. Fall 2004. pp. 852-884

Cebolla Boado, Héctor y Amparo González Ferrer. *La inmigración en España (2000-2007): De la gestión de flujos a la integración de los inmigrantes*. Cuadernos y Debates: 184. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2008

Checa Olmos, Juan Carlos and Ángeles Arjona Garrido. *Los inmigrantes marroquíes en Almería: viviendo juntos-aparte*. Documento de trabajo S2003/08. Sevilla: Fundación Centro de Estudios Andaluces (centrA), 2002

Ciutat Vella: El territorio y los barios. Ajuntament de Barcelona. <http://w3.bcn.es/XMLServeis/XMLHomeLinkPl/0,4022,259065493_286490176_2,00.html>

Cladis, Mark S. "Beyond Solidarity? Durkheim and Twenty-First Century Democracy in a Global Age." (pp. 383-409) In Alexander, Jeffrey C. and Philip Smith (eds.). *The Cambridge Companion to Durkheim*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005

Collins, Randall. "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification." *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 36, No. 6. December 1971. pp. 1002-1019

Collins, Randall. "Where Are Educational Requirements for Employment Highest?" *Sociology of Education*. Vol. 47, No. 4. Autumn 1974. pp. 419-442

Cornelius, Wayne A. "Spain: The Uneasy Transition from Labor Exporter to Labor Importer." In Cornelius, Wayne A., Philip L. Martin and James F. Hollifield (eds.). *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994, pp. 331-369

Danese, Gaia. "Transnational Collective Action in Europe: The Case of Migrants in Italy and Spain." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Vol. 24, No. 4. October 1998. pp. 715-733

de Haas, Hein. "Morocco: From Emigration Country to Africa's Migration Passage to Europe." Country Profiles. Migration Information Source. October 2005. <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=339>

del Olmo Vincén, Nuria. "Another Chapter of the Old Intolerance?" (pp. 320-331). In Baumgartl, Bernd and Adrian Favell (eds.). *New Xenophobia in Europe*. London: Kluwer Law International, 1995

Delgado, Manuel, Walter Actis, Danilo Martucelli, Ismael Palacín, and Pedro Sáez. *Exclusión social y diversidad cultural*. MUGAK: Centro de Estudios y Documentación sobre racismo y xenofobia. Tercera Prensa-Hirugarren Prentsa S.L., Donostia-San Sebastián, 2003

Denzin, Norman K. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1989

El Raval. Barcelona Field Studies Centre. <http://geographyfieldwork.com/ElRaval.htm>

Entzinger, Han. "A Future for the Dutch 'Ethnic Minorities' Model?" (pp. 19-38). In Lewis, Bernard and Dominique Schnapper (eds.). *Muslims in Europe*. London: Pinter Publishers, 1994

Erdenir, Burak. *The future of Europe: Islamophobia?* <http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_turkey_tpq_id_34.pdf>

Escola Vedruna – Àngels. <http://vedruna-angels.org/etapes.php>

Fetzer, Joel S. and J. Christopher Soper. *Muslims and the State in Britain, France, and Germany.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005

Fraenkel, Jack R. and Norman E. Wallen. *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education*. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 2006

Gibson, Margaret A. "Minorities and Schooling: Some Implications" (pp. 357-381). In Gibson, Margaret A. and John U. Ogbu. *Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities*. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991

Gibson, Margaret A. and John U. Ogbu. *Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities*. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991

Gozálvez Pérez, Vicente (Dir.), G. Ponce Herrero, R. Viruela Martínez, G. Canales Martínez, S. Palazón Ferrando, J.R. Valero Escandell, E. Obiol Menero, J.A. Segrelles Serrano, J.D. Gómez López, R. Belando Carbonell, J. Costa Mas, S. Redó Miralles. *Inmigrantes marroquíes y senegaleses en la España mediterránea*. Generalitat Valenciana: Conselleria de Treball i Afers Socials, 1995

Hawkins, John N. "Educational Demands and Institutional Response: Dowa Education in Japan." *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2, June 1983, pp. 204-226

Hossain, Altaf. "Age in Grade Congruence and Progression in Basic Education in Bangladesh." CREATE (Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity) Pathways to Access. Research Monograph No. 48. October 2010

Huguet, Ángel. "Minority Languages and Curriculum: The Case of Spain." *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. Vol. 20, No. 1, 2007. pp. 70-86

Huntoon, Laura. 'Immigration to Spain: Implications for a Unified European Union Immigration Policy." *International Migration Review*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 1998. pp. 423-450

Inglis, Christine and Lenore Manderson. "Turkish Immigrants in Australia." In Gibson, Margaret A. and John U. Ogbu. *Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities*. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991, 97-130

International Migrant Stock: The 2008 Revision. <http://esa.un.org/migration/index.asp?panel=1>

Jacott, Liliana and Antonio Maldonado Rico. "The *Centros Concertados* in Spain, Parental Demand and Implications for Equity." *European Journal of Education*. Vol. 41, No. 1, 2006

Jencks, Christopher, Marshall Smith, Henry Acland, Mary Jo Bane, David Cohen, Herbert Gintis, Barbara Heyns and Stephan Michelson. *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America*. New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1972

Jick, Todd D. "Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action." *Administrative Science Quarterly*. Vol. 24, No. 4: *Qualitative Methodology*. December 1979. pp. 602-611

Jiménez Álvarez, Mercedes. "La migración de los menores en Marruecos. Reflexiones desde la frontera sur de Europa." (pp. 115-135) In Ángeles Ramírez Fernández y Mercedes Jiménez Álvarez (coords.). *Las otras migraciones: la emigración de menores marroquíes no acompañados a España*. Universidad Internacional de Andalucía/Ediciones Akal, S.A., 2005

King, Russell. "Southern Europe in the Changing Global Map of Migration." In King, Russell, Gabriella Lazaridis and Charalambos Tsardanidis (eds.). *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 2000, pp. 3-26

Kolev, Deyan. "Roma Folklore Classes in Bulgarian Schools: Preparing the Ground for the Desegregation of Romani Education." European Roma Rights Center (ERRC). 28 May 2004. <http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=1854>

Krathwohl, David R. *Methods of Educational and Social Science Research: An Integrated Approach*. New York: Longman Publishing Group, 1993

Laarbi, Ali Mohamed. *Inmigración, racismo y prensa (El caso marroquí en España)*. Tesis Doctoral. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociología. Madrid 2001

"Language and Social Cohesion Plan: Education and immigration." Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Educació. <http://www.xtec.cat/lic/intro/documenta/Pla_lic_english.pdf>

Lindo, Flip. "Does Culture Explain? Understanding Differences in School Attainment between Iberian and Turkish Youth in the Netherlands." In Vermeulen, Hans and Joel Perlmann (eds.). *Immigrants, Schooling and Social Mobility: Does Culture Make a Difference?* New York: St. Martin's Press, LLC, 2000

López García, Bernabé and Mohamed Berriane (dirs.). *Atlas de la inmigración marroquí en España.* Atlas 2004. Taller de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. <http://www.uam.es/otroscentros/TEIM/Observainmigra/Atlas%202004%20inicio.htm>

López García, Bernabé and Laura Mijares Molina. "Moroccan Children and Arabic in Spanish Schools." (pp. 279-292) in Extra, Guus and Durk Gorter (eds.). *The Other Languages of Europe: Demographic, Sociolinguistic and Educational Perspectives*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2001

Losada Campos, Teresa. "Inmigración musulmana: retos humanos, culturales y religiosos" (pp. 189-199). In Abumalham, Montserrat. *Comunidades islámicas en Europa*. Madrid: Editorial Trotta, S.A., 1995

Martín Corrales, Eloy. *La imagen del magrebí en España: Una perspectiva histórica siglos XVI-XX.* Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002

Martín Muñoz, Gema, F. Javier García Castaño, Ana López Sala, and Rafael Crespo. *Marroquies en España: estudio sobre su integración*. Madrid: Fundación REPSOL, 2003

Martínez Veiga, Ubaldo. *Pobreza, segregación y exclusión espacial: La vivienda de los inmigrantes extranjeros en España*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial, s. a., 1999

Melotti, Umberto. "International Migration in Europe: Social Projects and Political Cultures." (pp. 73-92). In Modood, Tariq and Pnina Werbner (eds.). *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe: Racism, Identity and Community*. London and New York: Zed Books Ltd., 1997

Mijares Molina, Laura. *Aprendiendo a Ser Marroquíes. Inmigración, Diversidad Lingüística y Escuela*. Madrid: ediciones del oriente y del mediterráneo, diciembre 2006

Moha, Edouard. *Las relaciones hispano-marroquíes*. Málaga: Editorial Algazara, 1992

Navas Luque, Marisol and Isabel Cuadrado. "El prejuicio étnico: crónica de un conflicto anunciado" (171-198). In Checa, Francisco (dir.). *El Ejido: La ciudad-cortijo. Claves socioeconómicas del conflicto étnico*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial, s. a., 2001

Neelsen, John P. "Education and Social Mobility." *Comparative Education Review.* Vol. 19, No. 1: *Politics/Education*. February 1975. pp. 129-143

Nielsen, Jørgen S. *Muslims in Western Europe*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995

Niessen, Jan. *Diversity and cohesion: new challenges for the integration of immigrants and minorities*. Germany: Council of Europe, 2000

Niessen, Jan. "Overlapping Interests and Conflicting Agendas: The Knocking into Shape of EU Immigration Policies." *European Journal of Migration and Law.* Vol. 3. 2001. pp. 419-434

Nunn, Alex, Steve Johnson, Surya Monro, Tim Bickerstaffe and Sarah Kelsey. "Factors Influencing Social Mobility." Department for Work and Pensions. Research Report No. 450. Leeds, 2007

Núñez Villaverde, Jesús A. and Miguel Hernando de Larramendi. *La política exterior y de cooperación de España hacia el Magreb (1982-1995)*. Madrid: Instituto Universitario de Desarrollo y Cooperación/Los Libros de la Catarata, 1996

Ogbu, John U. "Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities in Comparative Perspective." (pp. 3-33). In Gibson, Margaret A. and John U. Ogbu. *Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities*. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991

Ortega Pérez, Nieves. *Spain: Forging an Immigration Policy*. Country Profiles. February 2003
<http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=97>

Paris, David C. *Ideology and Educational Reform: Themes and Theories in Public Education*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc., 1995

Parsons, Talcott. "The School Class as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in American Society." (pp. 129-154) In Parsons, Talcott. *Social Structure and Personality*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964

Pascual de Sans, Àngels, Jordi Cardelús and Miguel Solana Solana. "Recent Immigration to Catalonia: Economic Character and Responses" (pp. 104-124). In Pereda, Carlos, Walter Actis y Miguel Ángel de Prada) Con la colaboración de: Graciela Malgesini, Ana I. Planet, Daniel Wagman. *Inmigrantes, nuevos ciudadanos: ¿Hacia una España plural e intercultural?* Madrid: Fundación de las Cajas de Ahorros (FUNCAS), 2008

Permisán, Cristina Goenechea and José Antonio García Fernández. "Educational Reponses to Immigrant Students in Madrid." *Intercultural Education*. Vol. 18, No. 3, August 2007, pp. 207-213

Planet Contreras, Ana I. *Melilla y Ceuta: espacios-frontera hispano-marroquíes*. Edita: Ciudad Autónoma de Melilla, Ciudad Autónoma de Ceuta, UNED – Melilla. Impresión: Copartgraf (1998)

Portes, Alejandro and Rubén G. Rumbaut. *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 2001

Protectorado Español en Marruecos. <http://www.marcjimenez.com/autores_lengua_alemana/Rolf_Dieter_Muller/La_muerte_caia_del_cielo/mapas_protectorado.htm>

Pumares, Pablo, Juan S. Fernández Prados, Antonio J. Rojas and Ángeles Asensio. "La gestión de los flujos inmigratorios y su influencia en el sistema productivo" (99-125). In Checa, Francisco (dir.). *El Ejido: La ciudad-cortijo. Claves socioeconómicas del conflicto étnico*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial, s. a., 2001

Ramírez, Ángeles. *Migraciones, género e Islam: Mujeres marroquíes en España*. Madrid: Agencia española de cooperación internacional, 1998

Regions and territories: Western Sahara. BBC News. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/3466917.stm>

Regions and territories: Ceuta, Melilla. BBC News. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/4209538.stm>

Rocha, Inmaculada Marrero. "The Implications of Spanish-Moroccan Governmental Relations for Moroccan Immigrants in Spain." *European Journal of Migration and Law*. Vol. 7. 2005. pp. 413-434

Schmid-Drüner, Marion. "Germany's New Immigration Law: A Paradigm Shift?" *European Journal of Migration and Law*. Vol. 8. 2006. pp. 191-214

Shimahara, Nobuo K. "Social Mobility and Education: Burakumin in Japan" (pp. 327-353). In Gibson, Margaret A. and John U. Ogbu. *Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities*. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991
Siguan, Miquel. *Inmigración y adolescencia: Los retos de la interculturalidad*. Barcelona: Ediciones Paidós Ibérica, S.A., 2003

Solé, Carlota. "Immigration Policies in Southern Europe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Vol. 30, No. 6. November 2004. pp. 1209-1221

Sorokin, Pitirim. *Social Mobility*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927

Teasley, Cathryn. "The Culture of Discourse on Educational Reform in Spain." *The Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies*. Vol. 26: 249-275, 2004

The Conflict in Western Sahara. BBC News. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/dna/h2g2/A3121363>

The Education System in Spain. 2006/07. Eurybase: The Information Database on Education Systems in Europe. Directorate-General for Education and Culture. European Commission

Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) 2003: Mathematics. National Center for Education Statistics. Institute of Education Sciences. U.S. Department of Education. <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2005/timss03/math1.asp>

Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) 2003: Science. National Center for Education Statistics. Institute of Education Sciences. U.S. Department of Education. <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2005/timss03/science1.asp>

Tsardanidis, Charalambos and Stefano Guerra. "The EU Mediterranean States, the Migration Issue and the 'Threat' from the South" (pp. 321-344). In King, Russell, Gabriella Lazaridis and Charalambos Tsardanidis (eds.). *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 2000

Xenophobia. International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences. Pp. 16649-16652

Yanci, Mª Pilar González. "La emigración de marroquíes a España" (355-378). II Congreso Internacional "El Estrecho de Gibraltar" Ceuta – Noviembre 1990. Actas. Tomo III (Historia medieval, geografía y varia). Actas del II Congreso Internacional

“El Estrecho de Gibraltar”. Ceuta, 1990. Edicion por Eduardo Ripoll Perelló y Manuel F. Ladero Quesada. Universidad Nacional de Educación a distancia. Madrid, 1995